



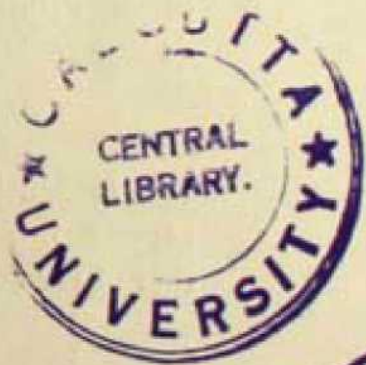
ĀCĀRYA-VANDANĀ

D. R. BHANDARKAR

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This Volume

IS RELEASED BY

Srimati Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India,

at a

ceremony

held on

**Wednesday, the 11th January, 1984,
at Rajbhavan, Calcutta,**

under the joint auspices of the

**Profesor Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar
Birth Centenary Celebration Committee**

and the

University of Calcutta.

॥ श्री-देवदत्त-प्रशस्तिः ॥

श्रीकालीकिङ्कुरसेनगुप्तः

देवदत्तस्तदिदमभवन्नामधेयं तदर्थं
भाण्डागाराहृतबहुधनं प्रन्नरन्नं महाघ्नम् ।
काले काले चितमपचितं यच्च भूतं विलुप्तम्
आविष्ट्यापिहितमधुना तेन वै तद्रहस्यम् ॥

प्रज्ञां स्वीयामनुभवपरस्परदृग्देवदत्तः
पित्रासूताजनिगतरुचिर्न प्रयुक्तास्तियावत् ।
आसीत्तावन्नित्यतनिरतः स्वेष्टचेष्टासु निष्ठः
यस्माद्बन्धं सुफलविपुलं निष्कदर्शं पुराणम् ॥

क्षौणीं खात्वा कति न कतिधा साधनात्सिद्धिमस्त्वा-
च्छैलीलेखामकुरुत मुदा बोधगम्यां निगूढाम् ।
यूरोपीयास्तदवधि सदा प्रौढकौतूहलाः स्युः
प्रादुर्भूता नवशुभमतिभरितीयेतिहासे ॥

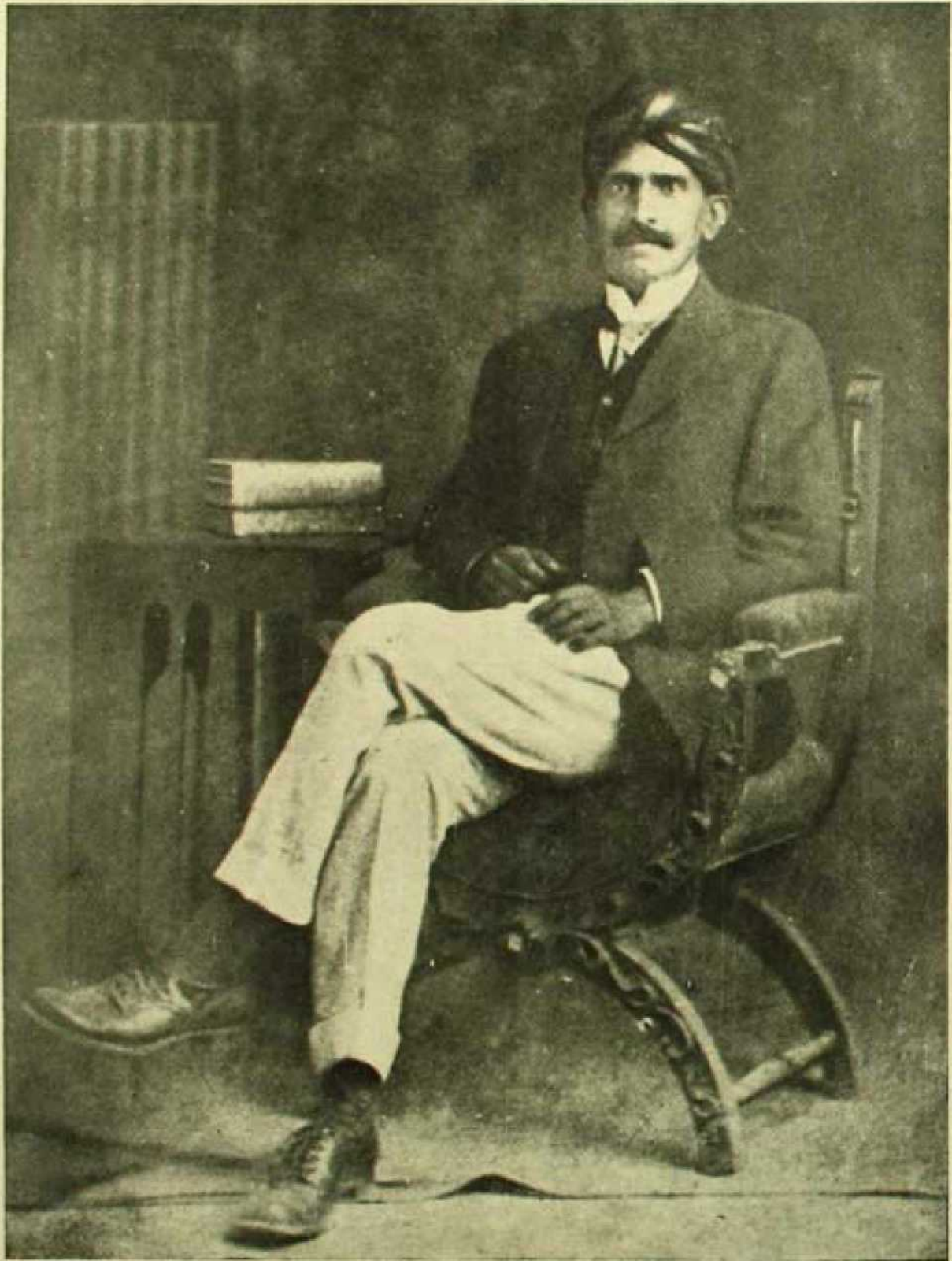
प्रारिप्सूनां प्रतनविषयानेषणासम्प्रयोगे
भूगर्भस्थान्प्रतिसुगमतां निर्दिदेशातियत्नान् ।
तथ्यं मौर्यैः सह सुकलितं राष्ट्रकूटैः कुपाणै-
श्चोत्कीर्णा या लिपिरपठिता तामपाठीन्मनीषी ॥

आर्यानार्यौ सुचिरमिलितौ पुंस्त्रियावप्रदेशे
स्त्रोपुंसांश्चातिरतिमुलभान्योऽन्यसंसर्गलौल्यात् ।
नानाजातेरभवदुदयः सर्वतः पञ्चनद्यां
तेषां देशाटनविवरणं वर्णितं सप्रयत्नम् ॥

शीर्षण्या ये प्रथितमुधियस्ते मिलित्वा तदग्रे
भक्त्या पुष्पाञ्जलिधृतकरा नम्रशीर्षाः स्तुवन्ति ।
श्रीकालीकिङ्कुरकविकृतिर्मास्मभूद्रीनगण्या
श्रद्धान्यस्ता सुवरिवसिता या शताब्दीव्यतीता ॥



DEVADATTA RAMKRISHNA BHANDARKAR
(1875—1950)



DEVADATTA RAMKRISHNA BHANDARKAR
(1875—1950)

PREFACE

The name of Devadatta Ramkrishna Bhandarkar (1875-1950) is great in the field of scholarship. His reputation as an archaeologist, scholar and farsighted and inspiring teacher and his success in transforming the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture of the University of Calcutta into a pioneering centre of post-graduate teaching and research drew appreciation from all corners. Even the giant among educationists, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, described him 'as the path-finder in trackless regions of the boundless field of Indian antiquarian research' enjoying 'unquestioned rank as an inspiring teacher' and also as 'not a chip of the old block, but the old block itself'. The wide variety of his subjects of research, the vast field over which they were distributed and the level of excellence they achieved mark out Bhandarkar as an outstanding scholar with whom carried full justification the name 'Devadatta' (god-gifted), fondly given by his parents. The entire Indological domain has been so enriched by him with contributions made in different capacities that his name is sure to be remembered with reverence and esteem. It is, therefore, very natural that the depth of the feeling of grateful posterity for this eminent personality, who may justly be said to have laid the study of the past history and culture of our country on a firm and scientific foundation, has found expression in the celebration of his birth centenary in splendour that rarely falls to the lot of an academic. In fact, the publication of the present volume, meant to be a glowing tribute to his hallowed memory, has been designed to form part of the centenary celebration.

The volume consists of two parts, Part I—'Devadatta Ramkrishna Bhandarkar' and Part II—'Research Papers on Indology', besides containing a *praśasti* on Bhandarkar in the beginning and an Index at the end.

Part I (pp. 1-124) of the volume has four sections. Section 1,

entitled 'Academic Career and Contributions', includes three articles attempting to assess the multifaceted contributions of Bhandarkar. Section 2, entitled 'Reminiscences and Tributes', incorporates the writings of seventeen persons, of whom some were his colleagues (I-II) and some his students (III-IV, VI and VIII-XVII). The reminiscences have been arranged according to the seniority in age of their writers. The same section has an appendix quoting the tributes offered to Bhandarkar through letters written to the organisers of his birth centenary by eleven scholars, some (I-II and X) of whom had personally known him. The preparation of a list of the publication of such a prolific writer as Bhandarkar, particularly long after his death, is not at all easy and the efforts made in this direction will be amply rewarded if the list included in Section 3, entitled 'Bibliography of Published Writings', which runs to nearly twenty pages in print, is found useful at least as a groundwork in the compilation of a fuller bibliography. An attempt to focus on the fervour with which the birth centenary of the late Professor has been celebrated will be apparent from Section 4, titled 'Centenary Celebrations'.

Part II of the volume contains thirty-five papers on different aspects of Indology arranged alphabetically according to the surnames of their respective contributors.

We take here the opportunity to record our heartfelt gratitude to everyone who has helped in organising the centenary celebrations and /in bringing out this volume. In this connection, it should be mentioned that the proposal of the Professor Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar Birth Centenary Celebration Committee, Calcutta, to publish a centenary volume in honour of Bhandarkar would hardly have materialised had not the Maharashtra Nivas Trust, Calcutta, particularly its President Sri J. V. Divekar, come forward to help the Committee with a generous donation of Rs. 5000/-. In fact, this donation prompted the said Committee to request the University of Calcutta to open a separate fund called 'D. R. Bhandarkar Birth Centenary Volume Fund' for the publication of the volume. The authorities of the University of Calcutta readily complied with the request and contributed a handsome amount of Rs. 15,000/- to the said fund. The Maharashtra Nivas Trust also helped in providing a jacket for the

volume. To the authorities of both the Maharashtra Nivas Trust and the University of Calcutta, therefore, we are greatly indebted.

The renowned poet Dr. Kalikinkar Sengupta in his late eighties has taken the trouble to oblige us with a *prastiti* on Bhandarkar, composed in Sanskrit, that adorns the volume. We are also grateful to all those who have so graciously enhanced the value of this volume by their contributions.

We put on record our gratitude to the late Professor R. C. Majumdar, President of the Centenary Celebration Committee till his death, and also to Professor C. D. Chatterjee and Professor D. C. Sircar, both students of the late Professor Bhandarkar and members of the said Committee, for their valuable suggestions, particularly in selecting articles for Part II.

The illustrations covering the centenary celebrations are from photographs by Sri Subodh Shenoy for which we thank him. The illustration facing Page 53 is from a rare photograph received from the Maharashtra Mandal, Calcutta, for which we are grateful to the Mandal.

Thanks are also due to the two students of the undersigned—Sri Korakkumar Chaudhuri, now a Lecturer in History in the Midnapore College, West Bengal, for his assistance in collecting material for the bibliography in the volume and Sri Amalkumar Mandal, now an officer in All India Radio, for his spontaneous and whole-hearted assistance in seeing the volume through the press and preparing its Index.

Between the time when preparations for the centenary celebrations started and the publication of the volume we have lost some of our associates whose names are in the table overleaf.

The publication of the volume has been delayed for reasons beyond our control and for the inconvenience, if any, caused thereby, we offer our apologies to all concerned. We also crave the indulgence of the reader for the blemishes and misprints creeping into the volume, some of which have been rectified in the *Addenda et Corrigenda* that follows the Index.

Itihāse suniṣṇāto Devadatto mahāguruḥ |

bhaktyā samarpito hy = eṣa tasmai sa-śraddha-cetasā ||

AJO NITYAH SĀS'VATO'YAM

DR. RAMESHCHANDRA MAJUMDAR

DR. SUNITIKUMAR CHATTOPADHYAY

DR. NIHARRANJAN RAY

SRI SARASIKUMAR SARASWATI

SRI ADRISCHANDRA BANERJI

SM. VASANTI RELVANI

SRI TAPONATH CHAKRAVARTI

DR. RADHAGOBINDA BASAK



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PART I

DEVADATTA
RAMKRISHNA BHANDARKAR

(1)

**ACADEMIC CAREER AND CONTRIBUTIONS
OF
DEVADATTA RAMKRISHNA BHANDARKAR**

D. R. BHANDARKAR AS A SCHOLAR, ARCHÆOLOGICAL OFFICER AND UNIVERSITY PROFESSOR ¹

SM. SAKUNTALA RAO SASTRI

HOW D. R. BHANDARKAR was attracted to the study of the history of ancient India and how he came to join the Archaeological Department cannot but be a subject of great interest to the Indian scholars of to-day. He passed his B. A. Examination from the Bombay University in 1896 from the Deccan College, Poona, and was in a way compelled to take up the Law course of the Bombay University. In fact, he appeared * and passed the first LL B. Examination in the following year. But just as he was studying for this examination, his attention was drawn to a Calendar of the Bombay University and to a page in that volume which announced 'A Brief Survey of the Ancient Towns and Cities of Maharashtra Country in the Pre-Mahomedan period, i.e. 1000 A. D.', as a theme for 1897 for the Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji Gold Medal and Prize. He used to go to the library of his father ** and remain there for upwards of an hour in the evening when the latter was out for his exercise or for attending meetings. There he incidentally one evening saw the University Calendar on his father's table and also the subject prescribed for the Bhagwanlal Indraji Gold Medal and Prize for 1897. The subject was no doubt of ravishing interest to a young graduate, especially to a young man in whose veins ran freely the blood of a veteran research scholar, his own revered father. The young Bhandarkar also knew that the information required for his subject was to be gleaned from the volumes of the *Bombay Gazetteer*, some of which he read many an evening when his father was away from the

1 The above sketch is based mainly upon the materials collected by a devoted pupil and friend of Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar who passed away some time ago. [The sketch is reprinted from the *Ācārya-Puṣpāñjali Volume* (in honour of Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar), ed. B. C. Law, Calcutta, 1940, pp. xi-xxx.—Ed.]

* [Read.—'at'.—Ed.]

** [D. R. Bhandarkar was the third son of the great Indologist Sir R. G. Bhandarkar.—Ed.]

house. In two or three months that were at his disposal he collected as much information as he could, completed his thesis somehow and sent it to the Registrar, Bombay University, with a temerity at which a grown-up man would stand aghast. The thesis, of course, did not carry off the gold medal as it did not reach the standard of originality, but carried a prize as it contained exhaustive and well presented information. When the news reached the ears of the father, he was both angry and glad,—angry because his son submitted a thesis which was not sufficiently original and glad because his son wrote a thesis within three months' time and without anybody's help at all, which nevertheless was of sufficient merit to deserve a prize. Anyhow the result was that D. R. Bhandarkar was asked by his father to discontinue his studies for the second LL. B. Examination and prepare himself for M.A. in Languages (English and Sanskrit) with Optional Paper in 'Pali and Palaeography' corresponding to 'Ancient History and Epigraphy' of modern times. This new course of study was so well suited to his cast of mind that before he appeared for his M. A., he wrote two papers which were both published in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XX. The first of these was 'The Nausari Copper-plate Charter of the Gujarat Rāṣṭrakūṭa Prince Karkka I, dated 738', and the second 'A Kuṣāṇa Stone-inscription and the Question about the Origin of the Śaka era'. The first was written, 'under the general supervision' of his father, who thereafter left his son completely to himself to think in his own way and write in his own style. The second paper created some sensation and was very favourably reviewed by the French savant, A. Barth, in the *Journal of the French Institute*. Barth agreed with D. R. Bhandarkar in everything that he said except in the view that the Kuṣāṇa dates were Śaka years with two hundreds omitted. In particular, he approved of the order of succession among the Indo-Scythian princes which the young Bhandarkar determined with the help of their coins. Even prior to the review of the French savant, the elder Bhandarkar expressed his entire concurrence in his son's view in his article 'A Peep into the Early History of India', etc. which was published in the *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XX, p. 373 and n. 29 and p. 374 and n. 30. In fact, this order of succession settled by D. R. Bhandarkar was accepted by V. A. Smith in the article he contributed to *Z. D. M. G.*, 1906, pp. 59 and ff., though

in his *Early History of India* he refers to his own article and thus not directly to his indebtedness to Bhandarkar for this view. The two articles were written by D. R. Bhandarkar before 1900, that is, before he became an M.A. Soon after he passed this examination, he was attached to the Bombay Office of Census of India, 1901, under R. E. Enthoven, I. C. S., and gave help in the writing-out of Chapters III and VIII relating to Religion and Sect and Caste and Tribe respectively, for which his name has been mentioned in the *Report*, Pt. I, p. 251. He was also Honorary Assistant Superintendent of the Ethnological Survey of Bombay and helped the Superintendent in the collection and compilation of materials; see e. g. the note on p. 17 of R. E. Enthoven's *Tribes and Castes of Bombay*, Vol. I, which shows that the article on Ahirs who form an important tribe of India was mainly composed by Bhandarkar. In 1902 he contributed to the *J. B. B. R. A. S.* (Vol. XXI, pp. 392 and ff.) three epigraphic notes and questions, the last of which was 'Dighwa-Dubauli Plate of Mahendrapāla and Bengal As. Soc.'s Plate of Vināyakapāla' and in November following he contributed another on 'Gurjaras' which showed how this second important foreign tribe penetrated India, ruled over the different parts of the country and was finally merged into the Hindu population. These two papers were considered to be of such paramount importance that no less a veteran scholar than A. F. Rudolf Hoernle was impelled to explain and further support the main position of D. R. Bhandarkar in regard to the Gurjara Empire which was practically a new chapter which he added to the history of ancient India. 'The object of this essay', says the late Dr. Hoernle in *J. R. A. S.*, 1904, pp. 639 and ff., 'is not so much to propound a new theory of my own, as to draw more prominent attention to one put forth by Mr. Devadatta Ramkrishna Bhandarkar in two papers contributed by him to the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1903. They are entitled 'Gurjaras' and 'Epigraphic Notes and Questions, No. III'. Stated quite briefly, the theory is that the well-known "kings of Mahodaya" were Gurjaras. Mr Bhandarkar does not claim the whole credit of it for himself. Much of his material, as he himself admits, has been drawn by him from the *Bombay Gazetteer*. But he has added to it new material and fresh points of view, and worked up the whole into a consistent

theory. To me it appears that, in the main, the theory is sound, and throws unexpected light on a period of Indian history until now very dark.' Then he proceeds to set forth the main outlines of Mr. Bhandarkar's theory. But 'the crucial point of it', says he rightly, 'is the correct reading of the dates occurring in the land grants I am convinced that Mr. Bhandarkar's readings are correct.' And he further proceeds to adduce multifarious reasons in support of his position. Up till then the dates were read as 100, 155 and 188, and referred to the Harṣa era. This view had been propounded by no less scholars than J. F. Fleet and F. Kielhorn, the latter of whom was looked upon as the highest authority on palaeography after the demise of G. Böhler. Such was, however, the cogency of Bhandarkar's arguments that even Kielhorn was brought round to his view. This Göttingen Professor commenced his notice of 'Gwalior Inscription of Mihira Bhoja', exactly as follows: 'Scholars who take an interest in Indian epigraphy are aware that there has been a difference of opinion regarding the dates of three copper-plate inscriptions [Nos. 542, 544 and 710 of my *Northern List*] which were issued from Mahodaya (Kanauj). According to Dr. Fleet and myself those plates were dated in the years 100, 155 and 188 (of the Harṣa era corresponding roughly to A. D. 705, 760 and 793); according to Mr. Devadatta Ramkrishna Bhandarkar they would be dated in the years 900, 955 and 988 (of the Vikrama era, corresponding approximately to A. D. 843, 898 and 931). When a short time ago I had occasion to refer to this controversy, I ventured to say that the whole question would probably be definitely settled by one or the other of the numerous unedited inscriptions which were known to exist in Northern India, and the publication of which could not be recommended too earnestly. What I then only hoped has become true much sooner than I could have expected. For the question is really settled now—in favour of Mr. Bhandarkar's views.. ' (*Nachrichten der K. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen : Philologisch-historische Klasse*, 1905, Heft 2, pp. 1 and ff.). This Gwalior inscription of Mihira Bhoja so completely convinced Kielhorn about the correctness of Dr. Bhandarkar's view that he sent a copy of the article to him with 'To show *at once* that I have been wrong—F. K.' written upon its title-page. Many people have since then written upon

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the Pratihāra Empire of Kanauj, fully utilizing their land-grants for the historical purpose, but hardly ever dreaming that it was Dr. Bhandarkar who in 1902 through his research work threw this flood of light on a period of Indian history which was dark till then. At any rate, this research work of his made a deep impression on the mind of two civilians of the Bombay Presidency, A. M. T. Jackson and R. E. Enthoven, who were worthily treading in the footsteps of Sir James Campbell by blending in themselves scholarship with administrative capacity. The former of these, of his own accord, sent for D. R. Bhandarkar and placed a problem of casuistry before him to solve within three days : whether he should take up an appointment in the Revenue Department where he would have quick promotion and ever-increasing power, or in the Archaeological Department where promotion would be doubtful and nomadic life certain. But as he was passionately fond of the ancient history and archaeology of India, he naturally chose the second alternative, come what might. A. M. T. Jackson patted him on the back, and remarked in a placid but firm tone that after all money and power were nothing as compared to the development of mind in accordance with its natural bent. The result was that D. R. Bhandarkar joined the Archaeological Department in June 1904 as Assistant Archaeological Surveyor, Bombay Circle, to the extreme surprise of the officers of that Department. At that time they all thought, sincerely enough, that Indians were incapable of carrying on research work or doing any administrative duties. The best course to follow in these circumstances in the interest of the Department, they thought, was not to make Bhandarkar permanent. So his period of appointment as Assistant Archaeological Surveyor was renewed from time to time, but he was never made permanent in that post so that he might not stand in the way of a certain European officer being promoted to the post of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Bombay Circle. So was it whispered into his ears by the late Dr. Theodor Bloch who had a genuine admiration for Bhandarkar's work ! But Bhandarkar never panted for any material prospects so long as he was left unimpeded in his work of visiting and describing the ancient monuments of India. He was then entrusted with the work of compiling the lists of the ancient monuments of Rajputana which he performed so zealously and intelligently that in their Resolution, General

Department No. 6625, dated 7th November, 1907, the Bombay Government were pleased to remark in para. 9 as follows: 'Mr. D.R. Bhandarkar's account of his tour in Rajputana shows that he is continuing to do most valuable work in those regions. It seems desirable that when his work in Rajputana is complete, an account of it should be published in collected form. The discoveries, regarding the origin of the sect of Lakulīśa, and bearing on the early history of certain important tribes, are of special interest. Mr. Bhandarkar deserves credit for his good work.' This clearly and succinctly sums up the work D. R. Bhandarkar did in the Archaeological Department from June 1904 to November 1907. It refers in the first instance to the information he gathered about the tribes, clans and castes with which Rajputana is studded and which he went on gathering till 1910. And, in fact, the results of his touring in Rajputana are so valuable that some scholars, European and Indian, have suggested the idea that they should be brought to a focus in the shape of a *Memoir* of the Archaeological Department. As the present Director-General of Archaeology is an Indian and a good scholar and administrator, let us hope that he will bring about this consummation devoutly to be wished, before it is too late. Secondly, the Bombay Government Resolution refers to the research work which Dr. Bhandarkar did within these three years and which related to Lakulīśa, who was originally a devotee of Śiva but was afterwards raised to the rank of an incarnation of that deity. His paper on Lakulīśa elicited much encomium even from Dr. Fleet, though his view was therein combated and overthrown and though he was *Zabardast* not only in administration but also in the field of scholarship. What his own theory originally was, what Dr. Bhandarkar's theory now is and why he accepts it unreservedly has been beautifully set forth by him in his own language in a paper which he has contributed to *J.R.A.S.*, 1907, pp. 420ff. 'I presume', says he, 'that I am right in understanding Mr. Bhandarkar as meaning that, at some time not later than the first century A. D., there appeared a great Śaiva teacher, who carried a club and so became known as Lakulin, and who preached a new manifestation of Śiva as Lakulīśa, "the lord who bears the club"; and that that teacher subsequently became identified with the god himself, and was regarded as an incarnation of the god. And such a result is so reasonable, and fits in so well with what can be learnt from

other names, that we could hardly refuse to accept it.' Dr. Bhandarkar's research work in connection with Lakulīśa did not stop with the article in *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 151ff. He visited the place where Lakulīśa was born, that is, Karvan in the Baroda State, and wrote another informative paper on the subject which is important to the history of the rise of Śaivism (*A.S.I., An. Rep.*, 1906-07, pp. 179ff.). That Bhandarkar's conclusions were sound was proved by the discovery of the Mathura inscription of Candragupta II, dated G. E. 61, which he edited in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXI, pp. 1ff., and which now almost indubitably proves that Lakulī, the founder of the Pāśupata sect, flourished in the first quarter of the second century A. D. It is not possible to write any full and scientific account of Śaivism without being freely indebted to one or another of these papers. This may be seen from what has been set forth not only by R. G. Bhandarkar in his *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems* (pp. 116 and ff.) but also by Sir John Marshall in his *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization* (Vol. I, p. 55 and n. 5).

Ever since Bhandarkar was Honorary Assistant Superintendent of the Ethnological Survey of Bombay and wrote his monograph on the Ahirs in 1902 he had conceived an insatiable craving for ethnological studies, especially for the various foreign clans that entered India from time to time, their migrations to the various parts of the country and their final absorption into the Hindu population. Another such tribe was the Gurjaras to which reference has already been made. A third clan which was a subject of his close study was the Guhilots, who are supposed to be the most exalted of the Rajput *Khāṁps* at present going. A monograph on this clan was written by him about 1909 and handed over to his friend, the Bengali scholar, Mono Mohan Chakravarti, who published it in the *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. V, pp. 167 and ff. The paper was of such great importance that it was not strange if Dr. F. W. Thomas, who was then in charge of the Library, India Office, London, wrote to him as follows in his letter dated 11th February, 1910: 'I read the article at once and found it to be one of quite unusual interest, the conclusions being worked out in an almost dramatic manner and demonstrated with great force and clearness. Allow me to congratulate you upon your success in tracing the history of the most illustrious family among the

Rajput dynasties back nearly to its origin in pre-Muhammadan times. I cannot help thinking that other researches, starting similarly from modern times and conducted on the same principles, might considerably increase our knowledge of mediaeval India'. This last remark of Dr. Thomas was perfectly true, but the idea had ever been present to the mind of Dr. Bhandarkar. Because he became a student of the ancient history of India as we have stated at the outset, with a study of the different volumes of the *Bombay Gazetteer* which he read critically and with an absorbing interest every evening in his father's library when the latter was away for meetings or for his constitutional. The *Bombay Gazetteer* in his opinion was a model for all governments and states in India to imitate in compiling their own gazetteers, and the credit for bringing this series to a perfection was principally due to the late Sir James Cambell, a civilian and antiquarian, whose face he had never seen but for whom nevertheless he entertained hero-worship. He always maintained that nobody could pretend to be an antiquarian and historian of India without reading at any rate the two parts of the first volume of this *Gazetteer*. Yet how few students of history before 1915 had actually studied them or even known that they were a mine of antiquarian information. But Volume IX is perhaps the best part of this *Gazetteer*, teeming as it does with full and extensive description of the various tribes and castes that go to form the Gujarat population, and, of this volume, the two appendices: A—the Foreigner and B—the Gurjar, afford the most refreshing and thought-provoking reading. These were written by Sir James Campbell himself. And it was the critical study of these appendices that cast the mould of D. R. Bhandarkar's intellect as early as 1897. He was no doubt a good epigraphist and a good numismatist, but it was the ethnological studies that ravished his mind most. It was therefore no wonder if he wrote thoughtful and scholarly monographs on the Ahirs, Gurjaras and Guhilots which later on culminated in his classical 'Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population' (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL. pp. 7 and ff.).* This was

* [Major part of this article was reprinted in the *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, Vol. I, Parts 1-2, 1967-68, pp. 267-328. The whole article with an Index was separately reprinted in 1968 by the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, University of Calcutta. —Ed.]

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the last of the Bhagwanlal Indraji Lectures Series which he delivered before the Bombay University in 1904. But for six years it had remained unpublished. In December 1909, the celebrated pro-Hindu scholar and administrator, A. M. T. Jackson, was shot down when he was District Collector of Nasik. Then began the brief but the saddest period in the archaeological career of Bhandarkar. Because the two civilian scholars of that time, who were his friends and backed him up against the anti-Indian policy of the Government of India in the Archaeological Department, were Mr. A. M. T. Jackson and Mr. R. E. Enthoven. The first fell a victim to the insane passion of the political fanatics ; and the second was on long leave in England. The result was that the prediction of T. Bloch made to Bhandarkar in 1905 came out to be too true ; and Mr. A. H. Longhurst was brought from the Eastern Circle and appointed Superintendent of the Western Circle and successor to Henry Cousens who retired from service in September 1910. Nevertheless, there was a silver lining in the cloud. Mr. Longhurst was such a thorough English gentleman that he and Bhandarkar soon became friends in spite of this supersession. The long leave of Mr. Enthoven also came to an end speedily ; and Mr. Longhurst was transferred to the Southern Circle, Madras, as Additional Superintendent, and Bhandarkar took over the charge of the Western Circle in August 1911. In fact, 1911 was a happy and bright New Year to him. For with the advent of this year he became editor of the *Indian Antiquary* along with Sir Richard Temple. He commenced his editorial activity with that article referred to above, namely, 'Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population'. As remarked above, this was the subject of the last lecture of his Bhagwanlal Indraji Series of 1904. This he revised and made ready for publication in the issue of the *Indian Antiquary* dedicated to the memory of A. M. T. Jackson which was the January Number of that journal for 1911. That this paper produced a great sensation cannot possibly be forgotten. The generality of the people did not know D. R. Bhandarkar as a scholar at all. When this paper was published and made some noise, everybody even in Bombay thought that it emanated from the pen of R. G. Bhandarkar. Nevertheless, scholars distinguished between the father and the son. One copy of the same was sent to Dr. F. W. Thomas as other copies were to

other scholars. In acknowledging it, he wrote as follows : 'The paper on the foreign elements in the population is extremely interesting and full of matter, and it shows a great command of all the literary and archaeological material. I have marked a number of points for consideration, and I shall often have to recur to the paper, which will, unless I am mistaken, excite a general interest among scholars, as did your former paper on a Kuṣāṇa stone inscription.' What Dr. Thomas said was perfectly true. This paper of Dr. Bhandarkar's showed 'a great command of all the literary and archaeological matter' and excited great interest among scholars. In 1919 was published *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North Western Frontier Province*, based on the Census Reports for the Punjab of Sir Denzil Ibbetson and Sir Edward Maclagan, and compiled by H. A. Rose of the Indian Civil Service. Chapter I, Part III, thereof is devoted to 'the Elements of the Punjab People' (pp. 41 and ff.). It begins with the mention of the name of Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar and his paper published in *Ind. Ant.*, 1911, January, and says that 'what follows is practically taken from this invaluable paper with details and illustrations added to emphasize the applicability of Prof. Bhandarkar's thesis to these Provinces'. And, in fact, pp. 41-48 of this chapter are a lucid and masterful summary of Prof. Bhandarkar's views.

'This invaluable paper', we have mentioned more than once, was published in the January Number of the *Indian Antiquary*, 1911, and, signalized the assumption by Mr. Bhandarkar of the co-editorship of the *Indian Antiquary*. This was the most renowned journal of its type, though it had fallen on evil times when Bhandarkar became an editor. The Indians had for a long time been looked down upon as unfit not only for scientific but also scholarly work. What is amusing is that they were thought unfit even for research work in the archaeology and history of their own country. It cannot be denied that there was some element of truth in the prejudice that had been formed about the general mental calibre of an educated Indian. So it was a great advance of the Indian cause when Mr. Bhandarkar was made an editor of the illustrious *Indian Antiquary* just as it was when he was first taken as an officer at all of the Archaeological Department. He continued to be co-editor till the end of 1922. Although his field

of work, strictly speaking, was restricted to India, he poached upon the grounds of that exceptionally affable English gentleman, Sir Richard Temple, by asking European scholars to contribute articles to that journal. He also cleverly selected topics for discussion which he sometimes started but in which the scholars of the West freely participated. The result was that within three years the *Indian Antiquary* became a self-supporting concern and that every monthly issue of this journal was eagerly awaited by scholars in India and from abroad. This state of things continued till 1922 when Mr. Bhandarkar on grounds of ill-health was forced to give up his editorship.

We have mentioned above that 1911 was a happy and bright New Year for Mr. Bhandarkar. He became co-editor of the leading antiquarian journal of the day with the commencement of the year. In August following he became Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Western Circle. And on the 5th of December came off the visit of George V, the King-Emperor, and the royal party, to the Elephanta Cave near Bombay, while they were on their way to Delhi. Mr. Bhandarkar of course had to act as cicerone. He had already prepared a Guide to Elephanta Island for the information and guidance of the party. The King-Emperor asked him who wrote it and on learning that Mr. Bhandarkar was the author of it, he complimented him on having composed it from the view-point of a European who had no first-hand knowledge of India. The King-Emperor asked many a question regarding the religious life of India and also regarding the matter comprised in the Guide. When this conversation was taking place, the royal party had clustered round the King-Emperor. Though his avidity had been gratified in regard to the social and religious life of India, he could not help interrogating: 'But what is the special feature of this monument?' Mr. Bhandarkar replied that it was a temple carved out of one solid living rock. He and the royal party could not believe it. Mr. Bhandarkar asked them to detect any joint in the monument which showed that it was a structural temple, and not a rock-excavation. The different members of the party dispersed in different directions in the Cave, and not the least active was the King-Emperor himself. After some time they all gathered together again. And as they could not trace any joint anywhere in the Cave, His Majesty could not help exclaiming 'wonderful',

a word which was re-echoed by the rest. The incident was narrated by Dr. Bhandarkar in his address before the Rotary Club of Calcutta in 1928 which was published in the *Muslim Review*, Vol. III, No. 2, pp. 7 and ff.

The year 1912 also was a happy and prosperous one for Dr. Bhandarkar. For on the 15th of November he was awarded the Sir James Campbell Gold Medal by the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society at a meeting presided over by Sir Narayanrao Chandavarkar and with a speech made by no less a person than Mr. R. E. Enthoven. Dr. Bhandarkar was the second recipient of the medal, his predecessor being Sir Aurel Stein. Thus about 1912 Stein and Bhandarkar were looked upon as the two greatest scholars of the day in the estimation of the Bombay Asiatic Society. In his speech Mr. Enthoven also pointed out that Bhandarkar was the fittest person to receive this medal as it was instituted in the name of the late Sir James Campbell who was a great authority on the ethnology of the Bombay Presidency—a work which was being carried one step further by Mr. Bhandarkar with his monographs on Ahirs, Gurjaras, Guhilots, and, above all, the foreign elements of the Hindu population. Another thing that enhanced the prestige of Mr. Bhandarkar as an Indian was that on the 18th of December he was given an assistant who was not only an Englishman but also an A. R. I. B. A. His name was Mr. J. A. Page, who, like Mr. Longhurst, proved to be such a thorough English gentleman that no hitch ever arose between them though some feared that the subordinate Englishman would lord it over the superior Indian.

It would be too irksome to give any long account of the manner in which Bhandarkar carried on his duties as Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, which position he was the first Indian to occupy. The only new and additional duty that was flung upon his shoulders was the excavation of archaeological sites. He excavated at four different places, but the best results were achieved during his two consecutive years' excavations at Besnagar, the same as the ancient Vidiśā. At Besnagar he excavated at two different sites, one of which was round Kham Baba Pillar, the celebrated column raised by the Greek ambassador Heliodorus in honour of the Hindu god Vāsudeva whose devout worshipper he was. On the north of Vāsudeva shrine he lighted upon what has been called solid railing which was of a unique design, not known to have been found

anywhere in India when it was first unearthed. Similarly, with a view to ascertain whether the Kham Baba Pillar was *in situ*, he sunk a pit in front of it and went on digging till he found the column resting on a stone block in its original condition and kept in the perpendicular by two pieces of iron and some stone chips driven in between. One of these iron wedges he sent to Sir Robert Hadfield of Sheffield for analysis. To his astonishment Sir Robert found that it was a piece of genuine steel, and his astonishment knew no bounds when he was told by Mr. Bhandarkar that it was a specimen of the second century B. C., because up till that time the use of steel in India in the pre-Muhammadan period was undreamt of. Sir Robert could not bring himself to believe it until Mr. (now Sir) John Marshall, Director-General of Archaeology, assured him that he was present when the base of the column was excavated and that the column could not have been shifted at a later date so that the bars found could have been subsequently inserted. This discovery was thought to be of such paramount importance that on Monday the 23rd November, 1914, Sir Robert delivered an address before the Faraday Society upon the hardening of metals, with a prominent mention of this piece of steel. This whole discussion has been reported upon in *The Engineer*, dated 27th November, 1914. 'I received this specimen a few months ago,' says Sir Robert Hadfield, 'from the Superintendent of Archaeology in Western India, Mr. Bhandarkar. One of the special points is that, notwithstanding the large number of specimens of ancient iron and supposed steel I have examined during the last few years, none of them have contained sufficient carbon to be termed steel in our modern time meaning. This specimen, as will be seen from the above analysis, contains as much as 0.70 per cent carbon, which indicates that it can be readily hardened by heating and quenching in water. In other words, this material has been in its present condition for probably more than two thousand years and now, after being heated and quenched, hardens exactly as if it had been made only yesterday, thus showing that in this long interval and beyond surface oxidation, this specimen has undergone no secular change of structure, or alteration in the well-known capacity of an alloy of iron with carbon to become suddenly possessed of glass-scratching hardness after being heated and quenched in water or other cooling medium.'

But there were two more surprises to the antiquarian world from the excavations conducted by Mr. Bhandarkar at Besnagar. One of these was the find of lime-mortar in a structure of the Mauryan period. This structure consisted of two brick-walls exposed below the level of the solid railing referred to above which was of the time of the Kham Baba Pillar erected by Heliodorus. The cementing material of these walls attracted the attention of Mr. Bhandarkar who sent it for analysis to Dr. H. H. Mann, who was then Principal of the Poona Agricultural College. Dr. Mann reported as follows : 'This analysis gives the idea of a well-made mortar, prepared with a full recognition of the purpose served by sand and clayey matter in making the material, as well as the lime. In this respect it appears to be far in advance of many Phoenician and Greek mortars, which contain far too much lime and far too little sand for the best results. It approaches much more in type many of the Roman mortars, but the reduction in the amount of lime has been caused further than in these mortars with the probable result of the weakening of the cement.' The second surprise, however, came from excavations on the other site, which was in the heart of Besnagar. Here Mr. Bhandarkar laid bare what looked like three *yajña-kunḍas* or sacrificial pits, apparently prepared for the performance of sacrifices by Timitra, which sounds like the Greek name Demetrius. But to place this matter beyond all doubt, he took out one or two bricks from the *kunḍas* and sent them also to Dr. Mann for analysis. In brief, his report is that 'the brick nearly approaches fire-clay in composition' and that 'the brick does not fuse at all easily on heating strongly in a gas blowpipe'. The full accounts by Mr. Bhandarkar of his Besnagar excavations have been published in the *A. S. I., An. Rep.*, 1913-14 and 1914-15, and a popular account of the same in a summarized form in the *Modern Review*, 1930, pp. 17 and ff. These excavations were perhaps not a huge success so far as the quantity of sculptures and inscriptions here laid bare was concerned. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that on no single old site such sensational discoveries were made as here, such as the unearthing of a unique type of railing, the find of a genuine piece of steel as ancient as c. 125 B.C., the discovery of the lime-mortar of the Mauryan period rivalling that of the Romans, and the picking-up of fire-bricks showing that the Indians knew what fire-brick meant and what type of clay could sustain

intense heat without fusion. If we take these facts into consideration, the excavations at Besnagar surpassed in point of interest and importance all other excavations in India except those at Mohenjo-daro.

En passant, we have to take note of the fact that while Mr. Bhandarkar was engaged for two consecutive years upon excavations at Besnagar, Mr. (now Sir) John Marshall was carrying on similar work at Sanchi round about the celebrated Buddhist Topes. They were separated only by a distance of 5 miles. They therefore met at each other's camps pretty frequently, with the result that a warm and genuine friendship sprang up between the two. That there was a ring of sincerity about this friendship may be seen from the fact that in 1918 came out *A Guide to Taxila* by Sir John Marshall who presented a copy of the same with the autograph: 'For Prof. Bhandarkar, in memory of many happy days on the banks of the Betwa, from his friend the author'. Not long thereafter blew a Nor'ester over Prof. Bhandarkar emanating presumably from two archaeological demi-gods to knock him down in the arena of the museum after his transfer to Calcutta. It was Sir John Marshall who turned the direction of the gale and saved Prof. Bhandarkar from much worry and anxiety. Let us now turn to the story of Prof. Bhandarkar's big jump from Poona to Calcutta.

The reputation of Mr. Bhandarkar as a scholar and administrator had by now reached such a height that it was no wonder that the 'Tiger of Bengal' pounced upon him and snatched him away to his den, the Calcutta University, as Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture in July 1917 in spite of the strenuous attempt made by the Archaeological Department to extricate the victim from his clutches. On the contrary, a compromise was effected which was highly in favour of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. Mr. Bhandarkar not only became Carmichael Professor of the Calcutta University, but was also Officer-in-charge, Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, from 1917 to 1920, so that he might be more useful to the University students. Other honours followed in quick succession. He became a Fellow of the Calcutta University and remained so till 1936. He was nominated a member of the Board of the Trustees, Indian Museum, in place of Lord Carmichael, the first Governor of Bengal, and continues to be so even now. He was Acting Secretary or Acting Treasurer, several times, of the Trustees and



was their Vice-Chairman, 1925-27. In 1918 he was elected Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal * and was their Philological Secretary from 1920 to 1925. In December 1921 the Honorary Degree of Ph.D. was conferred upon him at a Special Convocation of the Calcutta University along with a few other intellectual luminaries. Soon thereafter he became Honorary Correspondent of the Archaeological Department of the Government of India ; and not long thereafter, also Corresponding Member of the Indian Historical Records Commission. He retired from University and Government service in 1936. About that time he was elected Honorary Member of the Calcutta Historical Society, and also an Honorary Fellow of the Indian Research Institute, Calcutta.

Dr. Bhandarkar was Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture from 1917 to 1936. There are three fields which form the province of a University Professor—teaching, the organization of his department and research. Under the terms of his appointment it was not obligatory upon him to take the M. A. classes. Nevertheless, he was so passionately fond of coming in contact with youngmen that he began to lecture to students of different departments connected with his subject, with the consequence that on the 11th May, 1929, the Senate of the Calcutta University resolved that the Carmichael Professor shall undertake regular teaching work in the post-graduate classes. As regards the organization of his department, it is an open secret that the course prescribed for M. A. in Ancient Indian History and Culture was entirely a child of Prof. Bhandarkar who strained every nerve to make it a success. How far he was able to carry out the three functions of the University Professor may be seen from what others have said about him. Even as early as 29th January, 1919, the Registrar, Calcutta University, wrote to the Government of India as follows : 'His work in the University has been eminently successful both as a capable investigator and as an inspiring teacher. The success of the newly established Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture is due in a large measure to his devotion, tact and judgment...' The same thing was repeated in better and more effective language by no less an

* [Now known as 'The Asiatic Society'.—Ed.]

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authority than Sir Asutosh Mookerjee himself while conferring upon Prof. Bhandarkar the Honorary Degree of Ph. D. 'He may rightly be regarded', said he, 'as the path-finder in trackless regions of the boundless field of Indian antiquarian research, and this has enabled him to take unquestioned rank as an inspiring teacher'. Sir Asutosh did not stop here but struck the nail right on the head when he also said : 'His bold and brilliant excursions into many an unknown tract of ancient Indian history have furnished fresh evidence of the law of heredity, and his colleagues rejoice to find in him, not a chip of the old block, but the old block itself'. The above extracts describe Prof. Bhandarkar's activity as a University Professor in the three spheres of 'teaching', 'organization' and 'research'. In regard to 'research' it may be further remarked that beyond the numerous papers and monographs which he contributed to the various learned journals, he instituted what may be called 'the Carmichael Lectures Series', the object of which was to set forth a picture of ancient India in such a manner as to make it easily intelligible and appreciable to the intelligentsia in general without losing in learning and scholarship. When the last lecture of his first series in 1918* was over, the first personage to congratulate him on its success was the late Sir Gooroodass Banerjee who took him aside and frankly confessed that he originally had very strongly opposed his appointment as Carmichael Professor but that he was now convinced that, after all, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee's selection was the best as Prof. Bhandarkar spoke on such abstruse subjects as kingship and democratic institutions in ancient India in his third and fourth lectures in such a manner that what was originally vague and dark was now perspicuous and plain as *āmalaka* on the palm. He never expected that such an illustrious personage as Sir Gooroodass Banerjee could become so meek and lowly in heart ; and from that time onwards Prof. Bhandarkar looked upon him as a saintly soul. Prof. Bhandarkar was not however convinced that because the

* [This series of lectures was published in the same year by the University of Calcutta under the title *Ancient History of India from 650 B. C. to 325 B. C.* The work has been reprinted in two parts in the *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, Vol. VI, Parts 1-2, 1972-73 ; Vol. VII, Parts 1-2, 1973-74. The two parts (Part I : Lectures I-II ; Parts II : Lectures III-IV), each with an Index, have also been separately reprinted. See the 'Bibliography of the Publications of D. R. Bhandarkar' below.—Ed.]

subject-matter of his lectures was approved by Sir Gooroodass, it would commend itself to the European mind. The President of the First All-India Oriental Conference has rightly remarked : 'The Indian's tendency may be towards rejecting foreign influence on the occurrences in its history. On the other hand, the European scholar's tendency is to trace Greek, Roman or Christian influence at work in the evolution of new points and to modernize the Indian historical and literary events.' That was the reason why Prof. Bhandarkar sent to Dr. H. H. Mann, Principal, Agricultural College, Poona, the lime-mortar which he discovered as the cementing material in a Mauryan wall or the fire-bricks from the sacrificial pits, which he excavated at Besnagar. Above all, that was the reason why he sent to Sir Robert Hadfield one of the two pieces of iron found used as wedges to keep Kham Baba Pillar in position. If any Indian had analyzed it and pronounced it to be a genuine piece of steel, no European scholar or scientist would have accepted the conclusion. This was the reason why he was anxious to know how his views about the kingship and democratic institutions of ancient India would be regarded by a cultured European. Fortunately he had not very long to wait for a European who was not only a capable administrator but a scholar with a judicial frame of mind. In 1924, Constable and Company Limited published *India : A Bird's-Eye View* written by Earl of Ronaldshay, who was some time ago the Governor of Bengal and who is now, as Marquess of Zetland, the Secretary of State for India. On page 135 he says : 'Amongst topics of great interest dealt with by these early thinkers is that of the origin of monarchy and the powers and functions of the king. The question is admirably treated by Professor D. R. Bhandarkar in a series of lectures delivered at the University of Calcutta in 1918, and it is to these that I am indebted for the material upon which the brief sketch which follows is based'. And he goes on summarizing whatever Prof. Bhandarkar had said in regard to the theories of the origin of kingship such as that of the social contract, that of the king being an incarnation of the divine, that of the king being the servant of the public, and so forth, and so on. Similarly on pages 32-34, Lord Ronaldshay gives a succinct account of the oligarchic and democratic institutions of ancient India, the existence of the parliamentary 'whip' and the kind of procedure governing the conduct of affairs by such bodies. 'There are good grounds,

however, for assuming', he adds, 'that the rules of procedure in force in the Buddhist Saṅgha were framed in accordance with those ordinarily in use in the case of Saṅghas generally, for Buddha makes use of a number of technical terms without considering it necessary to explain them. Had he himself been the author of them, it would obviously have been necessary for him, as Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar has pointed out, to give some explanation of their meaning.' He winds up the discussion by again referring to Professor D. R. Bhandarkar's 'Carmichael Lectures in 1918, in which he deals in an interesting and scholarly manner with the various systems of administration in force amongst the Aryans in India in these early days'.

Prof. Bhandarkar is on all hands acknowledged to be an expert in epigraphy. It is, however, not known that there is hardly any section of Indian archaeology with which he is not well conversant. This may be seen from a critical study of the Progress Reports of Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, which he wrote from year to year, where he has shown his knowledge of the art and architecture of ancient India also. If any further proof is required, it is furnished by the Carmichael Lectures, 1921, which are lectures on Indian numismatics. Soon after 1918 when the course of Indian history and culture was introduced for the M. A. degree of the Calcutta University, a young man who had been appointed to teach this subject suddenly left his department. And as there was no one else in the University at that time who was sufficiently conversant with the subject, there was no recourse left but for Prof. Bhandarkar to teach it. When he began to revise his knowledge of numismatics, he found that even then in that field much new and good work was possible. These new conclusions and points of view were embodied in a course of five lectures which he delivered as 'Carmichael Lectures, 1921'. Before long the first edition of this series was exhausted, and Prof. Bhandarkar was asked by some numismatic institute of Chicago to send them a copy of that invaluable book. But no copy was available. The institute was therefore compelled, we hear, to write to the Calcutta University to bring out a second edition of the same. * Prof. Bhandarkar's third series of Carmichael Lectures were delivered on

* [The work has been reprinted in two parts in the *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, Vol. IV, Parts 1-2, 1970-71 ; Vol. V, Parts 1-2, 1971-72. The two parts (Part I : Lectures I-III ; Part II : Lectures IV-V), each with an Index, have also been separately

Aśoka, in 1923. * But he had begun his study of Aśoka's inscriptions, quite a quarter of a century prior to its publication, with a view to find out what light they threw upon the history of India. What real contribution he made here was pointed out by scholars and historians when these lectures were out. Thus so far as the historical portion of the book is concerned, one scholar has remarked : 'A careful perusal of the book enables one to visualize the pious monarch and his manifold religious and administrative activities to a much better extent than had hitherto been possible with the Aśokan literature already in the field'. So far as the philological portion of the volume is concerned, another scholar says : 'In this connection it may be observed that the notes on the translations are ordinarily very full, so that even the publication of the new edition of *C.I.I.* will not render this part of Bhandarkar's work superfluous ; and it cannot be denied that he has made real contributions in the interpretation (e. g. the sense of *samāja*).' Here we have to note that by '*C.I.I.*' the scholar means the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. I, where the inscriptions of Aśoka were revised by the late Prof. E. Hultzsch who has even in that volume freely acknowledged his indebtedness to Prof. Bhandarkar's interpretations in several places. Only one scholar had the temerity of stamping this book as 'a heavy disillusion'. But Prof. Bhandarkar has given a suitable reply to this unwarranted aspersion in the second edition of his lectures, where he has conclusively shown that the reviewer never read the book except Chapter VII thereof. Except perhaps these aspersions of one single critic who had no time or patience to wade through the whole of the book, these Carmichael Lectures on Aśoka were received favourably on all hands, even abroad. One has only to turn, e. g. to H. G. Wells' *Shape of Things to Come*. Who could have imagined that this world celebrity thought it fit to read this book of Prof. Bhandarkar ? Nevertheless, if anybody reads page 368 of this volume, he will notice that Prof. Bhandarkar's book and his transla-

reprinted by the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, University of Calcutta. See also the 'Bibliography of the Publications of D. R. Bhandarkar' below.—Ed.]

* [Under the title *Aśoka*, this series of lectures was published by the University of Calcutta in 1925. For reference to different editions, etc. of this work, see the 'Bibliography of the Publications of D. R. Bhandarkar' below.—Ed.]

tion of one edict of Aśoka have actually been referred to by this 'English novelist, sociologist, historian and utopian, rolled into one.

Shortly before the first edition of the Carmichael Lectures on Aśoka was published, a most devoted son of Bhāratavarṣa, the biggest intellectual giant and the greatest educationist of the day, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee passed away. Prof. Bhandarkar had all along shown hero-worship to him and looked upon him as the Vikramāditya of the Modern Age, of whose court he was considered to be one of the nine gems. Perhaps the best and most appreciative account of the late Sir Asutosh's activity in the sphere of education, without any exaggeration or emotional twaddle, is from his pen which was published in *The Progress of Education*, Poona, 1924. The *Mahā-parinirvāṇa* of this great soul was felt by him like a bolt from the blue. And he made up his mind to suspend delivering Carmichael Lectures Series for some time, but to resume it after the completion of his sixtieth year when a Research Professor is supposed to be most conversant with the subject of his life-long study. But, meanwhile, he went on making a critical study of such topics as the ancient polity of India, the cultural history of the pre-Mauryan period, the position of women in ancient India, the origin and development of caste, and so on. The first of these subjects he had to handle, when, asked by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviyaji and Dr. A. B. Dhruva, he delivered before the Benares Hindu University the Manindra Chandra Nandy Lectures, 1925, on 'Some Aspects of Ancient Hindu Polity'. * In regard to the other subjects, he had prepared full notes with a view to resume the Carmichael Lectures Series as soon as he completed his sixtieth year. This object, however, remained unfulfilled as he retired soon thereafter. But the information and the notes he had collected have not gone in vain. For when the Syndicate of the Madras University invited him to deliver Sir William Meyer Lectures, 1938-39, he utilized his notes on the cultural history of the pre-Mauryan India and delivered them under the title 'Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Culture'. ** These lectures have just been published and scholars will duly appraise the

* [Under the same title, the lectures were published by the Benares Hindu University in 1929. See also the 'Bibliography of the Publications of D. R. Bhandarkar' below.—Ed.]

** [The University of Madras published the lectures under the same title in 1940. See also the 'Bibliography of the Publications of D. R. Bhandarkar' below.—Ed.]

value of the new view-points from which he has tackled this subject. Special attention may, for the present, be drawn to Lecture IV where he has shown how the Vrātya cult has developed into modern Śaivism, and, above all, what light it throws upon the cult of the Indus Valley of the proto-Aryan period about which mere descriptions have been given in plenty but hardly any constructive work shown.

'Sir William Meyer Lectures' were not the only scholarly work Dr. Bhandarkar carried out after his retirement. He saw to the printing-off of 'A List of the Inscriptions of Northern India in Brāhmī and its Derivative Scripts, from about 200 A. C.' which he contributed to the *Epigraphia Indica* and which is published as Appendix to Vols. XIX to XXIII. It is the second edition of the work published by Kielhorn as Appendix to the same journal, Vols. V to VIII. But it is nearly three times as big as that brought out by the Göttingen Professor, and it took Dr. Bhandarkar more than five years to compile it. He also wrote in the meanwhile articles and monographs connected with the various aspects of Indian archaeology which are too numerous to mention. * Besides, it is worthy of note that in 1936, he was President, Indian Cultural Conference, Calcutta, and in 1938, President, Indian History Congress, Allahabad. The Presidential Addresses he delivered in connection therewith are looked upon as classical productions, as they are both thought-provoking and replete with information. But his *magnum opus* will be the second edition of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, the subject-matter of which is Gupta inscriptions. A prospectus of the work he is engaged upon in connection therewith is published on pages 18-19 of *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology*, Vol. XII, brought out by Kern Institute, Leyden. This volume on Gupta Inscriptions was published by J. F. Fleet in 1888. That Fleet's translations can be improved upon in many places was long ago pointed out by G. Buhler, F. Kielhorn and R. G. Bhandarkar. Besides, many new inscriptions of this period have been discovered and much light has been thrown on the chronology of the Gupta epoch during the last half a century or more that this monumental work of Fleet has been before us. Besides, the task which is entrusted to Dr. Bhandarkar is not merely of chronological and epigraphical character as

* [See the 'Bibliography of the Publications of D. R. Bhandarkar' below.— Ed.]

was the case with Fleet. Dr. Bhandarkar has also been asked to write historical chapters describing the political, social and religious life of Gupta India—a work which Fleet himself intended carrying out but could not owing to the onerous duties of his official life in the Revenue Department. The whole work of revising Fleet's Gupta inscriptions has therefore been divided into two parts, the first of which is limited up to *circa* 550 A. D. It is on the first and more important part that Dr. Bhandarkar has been at present engaged. A little more than half of the work is over. Nevertheless, it will take at least five more years for him to complete it. * This is nothing as compared to the length of ten years that he took for the completion of the list of northern inscriptions where for mechanical work he was helped by his assistants for some time in the Archaeological Department and thereafter for some time in the Calcutta University. After his retirement for upwards of four years there is hardly anybody now to help him for any reasonable length of time. Let us hope that the present Director-General of Archaeology, who knows what research work means and what time and mental labour it involves, will before long give his full consideration to this matter and help Dr. Bhandarkar to finish off this most important work before his health begins to fail. Nothing grieved Dr. Bhandarkar more than the extinction of the *Indian Antiquary* with which he was connected during the vigorous portion of his scholarly life. He was a thoroughly effective editor of this journal from 1911 to 1922, during which period he restored it to its pristine glory and dignity. But ill-health compelled him to resign the editorship about the end of 1922. Owing to the importunate entreaties, however, of Sir Richard Temple for whom he always entertained a high regard and affection he was induced to re-join the editorial staff which now consisted of four editors and which was later in the leading-strings of the Council of the Royal Anthropological Institute ! Dr. Bhandarkar felt that the wings that once carried him to empyrean heights were now clipped. And what grieved him most was that the *Indian Antiquary* expired while he was an effete editor. Nevertheless, he was convinced that there should spring up a younger sister to this defunct journal. As the year 1934 was

* [The work was completed by Bhandarkar. The Archaeological Survey of India has arranged for its publication and it is expected to be out soon.—Ed.]

advancing, the ever-young mind in his old frail body saw the vision of the *Indian Culture* wanting like Buddha to come to life for the dissemination of knowledge. Things were not only favourable but also propitious. And it was not long before a quadruple holy alliance was formed between himself, Prof. B. M. Barua, Dr. B. C. Law and Mr. Satis Chandra Seal, and the *Indian Culture* saw the light of the day in July 1934 as the accredited journal of the Indian Research Institute. It is true that during the period of its infancy, he did the work of nursing and nurturing it quite all right. This quarterly, however, has now attained to such a high standard of excellence that it is considered to be a rival of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London. But the credit of making it such a huge success Dr. Bhandarkar no longer claims for himself. It was only in December last that some scholars and historians had been treated to a party in the building of the Indian Research Institute. While he was expatiating, on the occasion, on a characteristic of Bengal where, curiously enough, *Lakṣmīputras* are also *Sarasvatīputras*, Dr. Bhandarkar adduced one instance of it by remarking that he was now a sleeping editor of the journal * and that justice required that the name of the third editor should be printed first and that of the first should come third and last.

* [It also did not survive long.— Ed.]



D. R. BHANDARKAR—THE GREAT INDOLOGIST

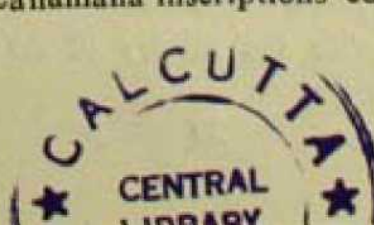
R. C. MAJUMDAR

DR. DEVADATTA RAMAKRISHNA * BHANDARKAR WAS a great Indologist, and, as very rarely happens, was the worthy son of a worthy father. As an antiquarian and a great scholar his life may be divided into two parts, an officer in the Archaeological Department and the Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History ** and Culture. I do not propose to discuss his contribution in the former capacity. As regards his other contributions to our knowledge of ancient Indian history and culture, we may form a very good opinion of his scholarship from his lectures as the Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture, University of Calcutta, and Manindra Chandra Nandi Lecturer of the Hindu University, Varanasi. In addition to these, reference may be made to his edition of more than twenty inscriptions in the *Epigraphia Indica**** and 'A List of the Inscriptions of Northern India in Brāhmī and its Derivative Scripts, from about 200 A.C.', having in it 2, 114 inscriptions published in the *Epigraphia Indica*. These publications established his reputation as a great scholar not only all over India but also outside it. As an evidence thereof mention may be made of the fact that he was selected Editor of the volume called *India* being Part II of the Volume CXLV of the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, Philadelphia (1929). The contributors to this volume included such eminent men as The Rt. Hon. the Earl of Ronaldshay, the Governor of Bengal, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyar, Sir J. C. Coyajee, George Findlay Shirras, Sir P. J. Hartog, Ramananda Chatterji, George Robert Lytton, Governor of Bengal, Lala Lajpat Rai and Mahatma Gandhi. It was undoubtedly a great honour to Bhandarkar and a tribute to his scholarship.

* [Bhandarkar used to spell as 'Ramkrishna'. Cf. *Indian Antiquary*, Vols. XL (1911)—LI (1922), Title Pages.—Ed.]

** [For Bhandarkar's activities as an archaeological officer, see Sm. Sakuntala Rao Sastri's article above.—Ed.]

*** [Read.—'excluding the Cāhamāna inscriptions edited by him in Vol. XI of the same journal'.—Ed.]



In judging the merits of any writings on any topic concerning ancient India, we must remember that new discoveries are throwing new lights on the past and our views and theories are bound to change, in some cases very substantially, by new discoveries of facts. If we remember that Bhandarkar's lectures were delivered nearly, in some cases, more than half a century ago, we must be prepared to differ from his views in many cases where new materials have come to light. Subject to this, one might justly observe that Dr. Bhandarkar's knowledge of the political, social and economic condition of ancient India was indeed of a very high order. The varieties of subjects on which he had a special knowledge may be judged from the following list of topics dealt with by him in his * lectures in addition to the history of Aśoka ** which forms the subject-matter of a book containing nine chapters.

His Carmichael Lectures of the first year dealt with 'Aryan-Colonisation of Southern India and Ceylon', 'Political History' and 'Administrative History' dealing with (1) 'Literature on Hindu Polity', specially the authors mentioned in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* and (2) the two forms of government, namely, monarchical and non-monarchical (*Saṅgha*).

Much has been written on these topics during the last half a century, but the dissertations of Bhandarkar on non-monarchical forms of government, social contract, and allied topics may claim originality in many respects, and paved the way for future research on these subjects. The difference between Bhandarkar's critical dissertation on these topics and K. P. Jayaswal's book on Hindu polity written about the same time will show the difference between the critical and popular treatment of these topics. The former was highly appreciated by scholars and the latter mostly appealed to the then patriotic feeling among the Indians, engaged in a political struggle with the British for more political power on the strength of their past experience of the various democratic forms of Government.

I state my views very clearly at this long distance of time, because at the time of which I am speaking both Jayaswal and Bhandarkar were

* [Read.—'first series of Carmichael'.—Ed.]

** [Prof. Bhandarkar's third series of Carmichael Lectures at the Calcutta University, delivered in 1923, dealt with the history of Aśoka.—Ed.]

in Calcutta, and the strong rivalry between the friends, followers and admirers of the two made a clear judgment about the relative merits of the two very difficult, if not impossible. The nature and extent of this rivalry sometimes even exceeded proper or decent limits. This explains why Bhandarkar's book *Aśoka* was very adversely criticised in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. XI, pp. 402-03. Thus Bhandarkar remarks in the Preface (pp. xv-xvi) to the second edition of *Aśoka* :

'As regards the reviews that were published of my book some contained nothing but praise about me and my work. I will make no mention of them. There was, however, one review which was a condemnation of my book, from beginning to end. It was published in *JBORS*, Vol. XI, pp. 402-03 and I request scholars to read it at least once, and find out who wrote it and how it came to be published....That will also convince them that Patna has been correctly identified with Pāṭaliputra where Kauṭilya and Rākṣasa as well as Aśoka and Candragupta-Vikramāditya flourished'.

Reference may be made to other reviews of *Aśoka*, some of which have been quoted in the Preface to the second edition of the book. Though opinions are bound to differ, I venture to remark without any hesitation that no such comprehensive and critical account of the different aspects of Aśoka's life and character, on the basis of all available data at the time, is known to me.

In his Manindra Chandra Nandy Lectures (1925) at Varanasi, Bhandarkar has thoroughly discussed the much debated questions on the Hindu view of the origin, concept, nature and end of the state and some general questions concerning Hindu science of polity. He has also discussed at length the vexed question of the date of Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* in thirty pages. I don't think there was such a critical and comprehensive discussion of the subject before Bhandarkar's lecture.

Reference must also be made to Bhandarkar's very valuable article, 'Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population', * which was originally published in the *Indian Antiquary* (Vol, XL, 1911, pp. 3-37) and has been partly

* [This was the subject of the last of the Bhagwanlal Indraji Lectures Series delivered by D. R. Bhandarkar at the Bombay University in 1904. Cf. also the 'Bibliography of the Publications of D. R. Bhandarkar' below.— Ed.]

reprinted * in the very first volume of the *Journal of Ancient Indian History* published by the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture of the University of Calcutta. Though much has been written on this very important topic since then, the credit of first drawing our attention to it in an elaborate and critical discussion must be given to Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar. In this article Bhandarkar proved beyond doubt that the theory that the strict social division of the Hindus into Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas was determined by birth alone cannot be regarded as historically true ; that not only there have been changes of individuals from one caste into another, but the present high-class Hindus can no longer be regarded as descendants of Vedic Aryans alone, as is generally believed, but include quite a large number of peoples descended from the foreigners like the Śakas, Kuṣāṇas, Parthians and the Hūṇas who had invaded India from time to time and settled in this country in large number. They accepted Hindu religion and got mixed up in the Hindu society in such a manner that no trace of their foreign origin could be detected by anybody. This was no doubt a startling theory when first propounded by Bhandarkar, but the historical truth of this view can no longer be doubted.

From what has been stated above, it must be admitted by every impartial critic that Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar occupies a very high place among those scholars whose researches have enabled us to reconstruct the history and culture of ancient India.

* [As noted already (see above, p. 12 note), a reprint of the whole article with an Index was also published separately by the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, University of Calcutta, in 1968.—Ed.]

EPIGRAPHIC AND NUMISMATIC CONTRIBUTIONS OF DEVDATTA * RAMKRISHNA BHANDARKAR

D. C. SIRCAR

ON THE TWENTIETH JUNE, 1904, Devdatta joined the Western Circle of the Archaeological Survey of India which he preferred to the Revenue Department that had offered him a lucrative post. His notices of hundreds of inscriptions of the western and central areas of India, especially of the region around Rajasthan, which he had examined first as Assistant Superintendent ** and then as Superintendent of the Survey, appeared annually in the Progress Reports of the Western Circle from the issue of 1903-04 to that of the year 1917-18 when he left the Survey and joined the University of Calcutta as the Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture. These notices proved Devdatta's erudition and ability as an epigraphist, and his reputation was greatly enhanced also by the large number of inscriptions creditably edited by him in the learned periodicals including the *Epigraphia Indica* which alone published no less than eighteen of his valuable papers, the first two of them appearing in Vol. VI relating to the years 1900 and 1901. Devdatta's most magnificent contribution to Indian epigraphical studies is, however, 'A List of the Inscriptions of Northeren India in Brāhmī and its Derivative Scripts, from about 200 A.C.' published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, *** Vols. XIX to XXIII (1927-1928 to 1935-1936). **** It is one of the most popular reference books frequently consulted by workers on the early period of Indian history.

Out of Devdatta's papers on inscriptions appearing in the *Epigra-*

* [Bhandarkar used to spell as 'Devadatta'. Cf. *Indian Antiquary*, Vols. XL (1911)—LI (1922), Title pages. —Ed.]

** [Bhandarkar joined the Archaeological Survey in June, 1904, as Assistant Archaeological Surveyor. —Ed.]

*** [Read.—'as Appendix to',—Ed.]

**** [Another very important contribution of him is the second edition of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, the subject-matter of which is Gupta Inscriptions

phia Indica, one is particularly remarkable. It is a quite lengthy dissertation covering 54 quarto pages of Vol. XI (pp. 26-79) of the periodical and deals with no less than twenty-eight * inscriptions of Marwar and includes a section entitled 'History of the Marwar Cāhamānas' in thirteen pages. The paper is a valuable contribution to the epigraphy and history of early medieval Rajasthan.

Among the Early Brāhmī inscriptions, Devdatta's paper on the Mahasthan inscription of about the third century B.C.¹ is of great importance. It not only throws welcome light on the economic life of ancient Bengal, but definitely supports the location of Puṇḍranagara (the city of the Puṇḍra people), which became famous later as Puṇḍravardhana, at the village of Mahasthan in the Bogra District of Bangladesh. Among inscriptions of the age of the Imperial Guptas, the most important epigraph edited by Devdatta is the Mathura pillar inscription² of the time of Candragupta II, dated in the Gupta year 61 (380-81 A. D.). It has also been proved that the record bears a second date in the year 5 of the king's reign, thus showing that Candragupta II ascended the throne in 376-77 A. D.³ The inscription further throws very valuable light on the history of Śaivism since it helps us in determining the period when the great ascetic Lakulīśa, regarded as an incarnation of Śiva, flourished. It mentions a contemporary Śaiva teacher named Uditācārya as the tenth in spiritual descent from the great teacher Kuśika, and this Kuśika is well known as a disciple of Lakulīśa. Twenty-five years previously Devdatta himself wrote about Lakulīśa, on the basis of the *Vāyu* and *Liṅga Purāṇas* and the *Cintra praśasti*, that Lakulīśa, the last incarnation of Śiva and the preceptor of Kuśika, Garga, Mitra and Kauruṣya, flourished at Kāyāvarohaṇa or Kāyāvatāra, i. e. modern Karvan in the Dabhoi Taluk of the old Baroda

and in the completion of which Bhandarkar devoted about ten years before his death. As noted already (see above, p. 27 note), the Archaeological Survey of India has arranged for the publication of the work and it is expected to be out soon.—Ed.]

* [Twenty-seven and not 'twenty-eight'.—Ed.]

1 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 83ff.

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 1ff.

3 Cf. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, 2nd ed., pp. 277-78; *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 271ff.

State. ¹ About the same time, Devdatta dealt further with the Lakuliśa cult elsewhere. ² Now the Mathura inscription suggested to him that, if Uditācārya flourished in 380-81 A.D. and if the period of about twenty-five years is allotted to a generation of teachers, Lakuliśa, eleventh in ascent from Uditācārya, may be assigned to the period about 105-30 A. D.

Of the important early medieval inscriptions published by Devdatta in the *Epigraphia Indica*, mention may be made of the Jejuri plates ³ of Vinayāditya, dated Śaka 609, of the Cālukya house of Bādāmi, the Buchkala inscription ⁴ of Nāgabhaṭa II of the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty, dated Vikrama 872, and the Chatsu inscription ⁵ of Bālāditya of a branch of the Guhila family of Rajasthan, while important among the Rāṣṭrakūṭa records edited by him are the Jethwai plates ⁶ of queen Śīlamahādevī, Śaka 708, the Sanjan plates ⁷ of Amoghavarṣa I, Śaka 793, and the Bagumra plates ⁸ of Indra III, Śaka 836. The Sanjan copper-plate inscription gives interesting information about the North Indian campaigns of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings of the Deccan. Thus Dantidurga claimed to have humbled the Gurjara king and other rulers at Ujjayinī and Dhruva to have captured the royal parasols of the Gauḍa king when the latter was defeated in the territory between the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā while Govinda III not only claimed to have defeated Nāgabhaṭa II and Candragupta but even to have proceeded towards the Himalayas when Dharma and Cakrāyudha are stated to have submitted to him of their own accord. This Nāgabhaṭa II is the great king of the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty originally ruling in Rajasthan but later from the city of Kanauj, and Dharma is the mighty Dharmapāla of Bengal and Bihar who was an enemy of the Gurjara-Pratihāras. Cakrāyudha was the king of Kanauj under Dharmapāla's protection; but he was soon afterwards ousted from there by Nāgabhaṭa II

1 *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XXII, pp. 154ff.

2 *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1906-07, p. 188.

3 Vol. XIX, pp. 62ff.

4 Vol. IX, pp. 198ff.

5 Vol. XII, pp. 10ff. (wrongly assigned to 'Gupta 407' in A. N. Lahiri's Index of *Ep. Ind.*).

6 Vol. XXII, pp. 98ff.

7 Vol. XVIII, pp. 235ff.

8 Vol. IX, pp. 24ff.

who transferred his capital to the said city as we understand from other sources, both epigraphic and literary.

As regards the study of Indian numismatics, Devdatta's most significant contribution, as an officer of the Archaeological Survey, is his excellent report on the Sarvania hoard of the silver coins of the Śaka Satraps of Western India.¹ He showed how the coins discovered at Sarvania in the Kalingra Thana of the old Banswara State of Rajasthan offered extremely valuable information about the chronology of the Satraps. His important work entitled *Ancient Indian Numismatics*, published a few years later, is mentioned below in connection with his activities as Professor of the University of Calcutta.

When the great educationist, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, was reorganising post-graduate studies in the University of Calcutta and was trying to secure the services of talented teachers from different parts of India, Devdatta's valuable researches drew his attention. As a result, Devdatta was persuaded to give up his prospects in the Archaeological Survey of India and to join the University of Calcutta as Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture on the 1st July, 1917. He was made a Fellow of the University, and the Honorary Degree of Ph. D. was conferred on him in 1921. During his career as Professor of the University of Calcutta, Devdatta's great achievement was that he succeeded in inspiring a number of people in carrying on research work in early Indian history with particular emphasis on epigraphy and numismatics.

Among Devdatta's own research activities as Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture, besides a number of important articles published in the periodicals, he delivered three series of Carmichael Lectures at the University of Calcutta on (1) 'Ancient History of India from 650 B. C. to 325 B. C.' in 1918, (2) 'Ancient Indian Numismatics' in 1921, and (3) 'Aśoka' in 1923. Of the above three series of lectures, the second is of particular importance because, in it, the author succeeded in making problems of the very difficult subject of coins and currency quite easily intelligible. In all, there were five lectures, the topics of which were as follows:— (1) Importance of the Study of Numismatics, (2) Antiquity of Coinage in India, (3) Kārṣāpaṇa : its Nature and Antiquity,

¹ *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1913-14, pp. 227ff.

(4) Science of Coinage in Ancient India, and (5) History of Coinage in Ancient India. These lectures are regarded as masterly contributions to the study of the subject, and no other work of the type has ever been produced.

An idea about Devdatta's approach to the subject of early Indian numismatics may be formed from a rough analysis of his first lecture in which he emphasises the value of numismatic evidence as a source not only of the political history of ancient India but also of the early Indian administrative system, historical geography, socio-religious life, mythology, etc. Devdatta regarded numismatics as important as epigraphy in respect of the history of the Indo-Bactrian Greek, Indo-Scythian, Indo-Parthian and Kuṣāṇa kings, whose might over-shadowed considerable areas of North India between 250 B. C. and 300 A. D., as well as of the Śāka Satraps of Western India who were extirpated by the Guptas about the close of the fourth century A. D. He also emphasises the light thrown on administration by the coins of the Indo-Scythian kings Spalirises, Azes I, Azilises and Azes II issued jointly with others, the kings' own names occurring in the Greek obverse and the successors' names in the Kharoṣṭhī reverse. Attention is also drawn to the Śāka Mahākṣatrapas and Kṣatrapas issuing coins simultaneously as well as to the Gupta gold coins bearing the names and figures of king Candragupta I and queen Kumāradevī on the obverse with the mention of the Licchavis on the reverse. The importance of coins for the determination of the territories of the Yaudheyas, Mālavas and Śibis is pointed out. Reference is likewise made to the representation of Śiva on the coins of such foreign rulers as Gondophernes and Wema Kadphises as well as of a number of Greek, Iranian and Indian divinities (including Umā and the Buddha) on the issues of some of the Kuṣāṇa monarchs. Devdatta believed that Skanda, Kumāra, Viśākha and Mahāsena are separately named and represented on certain Kuṣāṇa coins so that the four were originally different deities who were identified with one another at a later date. He also speaks of the Greek god Zeus represented as the city-divinity of Kāpiśi and of a goddess with Greek dress as the deity of Puṣkalāvati as found on certain Indo-Greek coins.

The first series of lectures on the ancient history of India was also remarkable at the time they were delivered because there was then no

other work of this kind in the field. The topics of the four lectures were (1) 'Aryan Colonisation of Southern India and Ceylon', (2) 'Political History of India (650-325 B.C.)', (3) 'Administrative History : Literatures on Hindu Polity', and (4) 'Administrative History : Saṅgha Form of Political Government'. They were primarily based on literary sources and point to Devdatta's command over early Indian literature ; but the evidence of numismatics was utilised in dealing with the Saṅgha form of government in one of the lectures where he tried to prove the existence of three types of Collegiate Sovereignty indicated by the terms *gaṇa*, *naigama* and *janapada*. All these lectures contain numerous original suggestions; but those on administration may be regarded as more original on the whole, and several books have been published by various authors since the appearance of Devdatta's lectures in 1918. The third series of lectures on Aśoka may be divided into two parts, the first seven chapters dealing with various problems relating to the history of the Maurya emperor Aśoka, based primarily on the epigraphic source, while Chapter VIII deals with Aśoka's inscriptions. In this work, Devdatta gathered the results of his previous studies in Aśokan records and also offered some new suggestions. The great French savant, E. Senart, wrote to Devdatta on a perusal of the text of his lectures, '...you intended to show by analysis of the inscriptions what information hitherto unexpected they can yield to a sagacious and penetrating explorer. You have been prepared for this task as nobody else by your extended familiarity with literature. It is a marvel of a singular power that by throwing light on the monuments with the help of books you have enlivened your picture.'¹ All the three series of lectures were published by the University of Calcutta, the third series having run into four editions by now. The first and second series have also been reprinted.*

Devdatta succeeded in creating not only an atmosphere of research in the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University, by his own publications, but also became instrumental in the development of a school of Indologists by encouraging research work among his pupils of the Departments of Pali, Sanskrit and Ancient Indian History and Culture as well as among others.

1 See Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, Preface to the 1st Ed. See 4th Ed., 1969, p. x.

* [See above, p. 21 note and p. 23 note.—Ed.]

EPIGRAPHIC AND NUMISMATIC CONTRIBUTIONS OF BHANDARKAR

It may be mentioned in this connection that Devdatta succeeded in creating at least two successful students of Indian eigraphy * while no such epigraphist has been produced by any other Indian University nor by any other teacher of the University of Calcutta after Devdatta. A few among his students have also distinguished themselves in the field of Indian numismatic studies.

How Devdatta trained a young research worker into an epigraphist I can say from personal experience. After studying Indian epigraphy in Devdatta's classes for two years (1929-31), for well over two years in 1932-35, I used to go from North Calcutta to his residence at Ballygunge Circular Road in South Calcutta for studying in his library which had a very rich collection of Indological works. I normally reached the place at 11 A.M. and left it at 6 P.M. everyday without fail. Out of the seven hours' time at my disposal, I spent one hour and a half for Devdatta's work such as drawing up notes, checking references in his manuscripts, preparing indexes of his publications, correcting proofs of his articles and books in the press, and revising epigraphic texts and their translations prepared by Devdatta himself or by some one else for him. The rest of the time I spent in working for my own thesis for which I studied primarily the early South Indian inscriptions published in periodicals like the *Epigraphia Indica*, *Indian Antiquary*, *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, etc. In studying an epigraphic record, I took down its published text in Devdatta's library and tried to understand its meaning the same evening at my residence as best as I could. Next day at Devdatta's library I compared my interpretation of the record with its published explanation and examined the points of difference if there were any. Finally, I tried to check the correctness of the published transcript of the inscription by comparing it with its facsimile which generally appeared in the journal in question. Of course, the sincere devotion that I applied to the work was my own ; but Devdatta was a great source of inspiration while the instructions I occasionally received from him and the facility that his library offered me were of great help in my entry into the field of epigraphical and palaeographical research.

* [They seem to be the late N. G. Majumdar and the author himself. —Ed.]

When he was pleased with the progress of a student, Devdatta sometimes encouraged him by giving facsimiles of new inscriptions for study and publication. I received one from him about the end of the year 1929 when I had attended Devdatta's classes only for few months.

Devdatta did not teach numismatics when I was studying M. A. at the University of Calcutta. I therefore have to explain why in the dedication of my work entitled *Studies in Indian Coins* (1968), * I mentioned that I owe to him my interest in the study of early Indian numismatics. The fact is that this interest was kindled in me by Devdatta's *Ancient Indian Numismatics*, referred to above, and it was sustained by my contact with him during the period when I was particularly attached to him as a Research Scholar.

Devdatta Ramkrishna Bhandarkar died full of honours and at a ripe old age. His influence is still a living force among his pupils and is also experienced by the readers of his publications especially on Indian epigraphy and numismatics. This influence will no doubt continue to be felt for a long time to come.

* [The book has been dedicated to D. R. Bhandarkar, E. J. Rapson and S. H. Hodivala, —Ed.]

(2)

REMINISCENCES AND TRIBUTES

RA DHAGOVINDA BASAK

(BORN 1885)

SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE, who was really the father of the introduction of post-graduate teaching in Calcutta University, appointed me a Lecturer to teach Indian epigraphy to the students of the Departments of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Sanskrit and Pali, as a sort of recognition for my decipherment of some early Indian records. I joined the University in July 1918 and continued upto the latter half of 1919 when I had to go back to the Rajshahi College on obtaining the Senior Professorship in Sanskrit in the then Bengal Provincial Educational Service. As a Lecturer of the University, I had to work directly under D. R. Bhandarkar, the then Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture, and, even at this ripe old age, I fondly remember Prof. Bhandarkar who drew admiration from all coming into his contact for his wide range of knowledge, rare critical sense, ever-encouraging attitude and, above all, for his charming personality. All his colleagues felt proud to get the opportunity to work under him, and he was extremely popular with his students. Words are not adequate to express what the world of Indology owes to Prof. Bhandarkar, and I feel happy to pay homage to that great departed soul on the occasion of his birth centenary.

RAMESHCHANDRA MAJUMDAR

(BORN 1888)

AT THE BEGINNING OF THIS CENTURY, the University of Calcutta was merely an examining body. It prescribed the courses of study for the Entrance (later Matriculation), F. A. (formerly called L. A. and later Intermediate), B. A. (later also B. Sc.), M. A. (later also M. Sc.) and Law (B. L. and later LL. B.) Examinations, and conducted these examinations ; but was not concerned in any way with the teaching of any subject for these examinations, even for the highest degree. It was only after Sir Asutosh Mookerjee became Vice-Chancellor of the University of Calcutta and its guiding spirit that adequate arrangements were made for the teaching of M. A. in some of the principal subjects. For this purpose a few Whole-time Lecturers were appointed and there were some endowed Professors, such as the Minto Professor of Economics, George the Vth Professor of Philosophy and Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture.

The number of Whole-time Lecturers was very few to start with and when I was appointed a Lecturer in History in 1914 there was only one other in this subject and not more than two or three in other subjects taken together—so far as I remember.

I may give a brief account of the first impression I formed about the teachers of the University. When I joined in July, 1914, I found to my dismay that there was only one small room in the ground-floor of the Darbhanga Building (the first one to the left of one who enters the ground-floor by the small northern staircase of two or three steps), which served as the office and the sitting room of the teachers. I still remember that on the very first day on entering the room I found the old clerk dozing with his legs stretched on the small table in front of him. Five or six chairs and a shelf were the only other furniture of the room. When the bell rang for the teachers to go to their classes, I rose and asked the dozing old clerk about my class-register of attendance. Vexed at the disturbance during his siesta he said, 'young man

(*chokḍā*), take it from the shelf without disturbing me'.

It was in this room that I met D. R. Bhandarkar when he joined the University as the Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture (1917).

Bhandarkar's name was very familiar to students of ancient Indian history for his reports as the Superintendent of Archaeology and large number of learned articles, specially the one on the foreign elements of the Hindu population. One of the first topics he discussed with us was the organisation of research by the teachers and advance students of the Department. There is no doubt that in doing this he honestly carried out the main objective of Sir Asutosh in bringing the post-graduate studies solely under the University. Prof. Bhandarkar personally set an example by his series of highly learned lectures. The main duty of the Carmichael Professor was to deliver every year a course of four public lectures embodying some original research work. Some of these have been published * and those on ancient history of India, ancient Indian numismatics and Aśoka are very important contributions to the history of India.

Sixty years have passed since I first met Prof. Bhandarkar and I had the privilege of working with him only for about three years. So I do not know many incidents throwing light on his personality and I shall refer only to a few of them that I still remember.

Bhandarkar instituted the ceremony of the teachers of the University visiting the house of Sir Asutosh in a body with offers of flowers and fruits on every birthday of Sir Asutosh, whom he referred to as Vikramāditya of the present age in the dedication of his Carmichael Lectures, 1918.

In 1921, a residential University was started at Dacca and some teachers of the Calcutta University, including myself, were selected for appointment in that University by its Vice-Chancellor Dr. P. J. Hartog. About this time, while delivering one of his annual lectures Bhandarkar said, before he concluded, that very recently he had come across an old manuscript in which it was described how an *asura* chief named Hartuga set up a new *āśrama* on the bank of the Old Ganges in order to ruin the one on the banks of the New Ganges, and a few members of the latter

* [See the 'Bibliography of Published Writings' below.—Ed.]

āśrama were enticed away by the *asura* chief. The names of these teachers were very ill-disguised forms of those who joined the University of Dacca on the Buḍī-Gaṅgā i. e. the old Ganges. *

One thing I very well remember even today was the very great ill-feeling between Bhandarkar and Rakhal Das Banerji, another great Indologist, who was also a Superintendent of Archaeology and occupied the post which Bhandarkar had left before joining the University of Calcutta. I have never been able to ascertain exactly the grounds of such animosity the nature of which will be evident from the following incident.

A practice had grown up among the small group of scholars in Calcutta engaged in the study of, or interested in, ancient Indian history and culture to meet once a month, at dinner, in rotation at the houses of different members. On one occasion I invited in my house about eight or ten persons. Rakhal Das Banerji, who came a little earlier, asked me whether I have also invited Bhandarkar. On my answering in the affirmative Rakhal Das said that in that case he would not join the dinner. I was placed in a very awkward situation and argued in vain to make him understand my position. Fortunately, some other friends arrived before Bhandarkar and they somehow induced Rakhal Das to join the dinner along with Bhandarkar. The dinner passed off smoothly.

Before I conclude I must say that even today I cherish Bhandarkar's memory as that of an amiable friend. He often entertained us at his house on the Lansdowne Road. ** On one occasion he invited Sir Asutosh, also to his house. I remember this occasion for although Sir Asutosh, as usual, heartily enjoyed the food, his son Ramaprasad, though a young man, did not eat anything. I was surprised to learn that he does not eat anything outside his own home. He only accepted an orange and put it into his pocket. He was thus just the opposite of his father who delighted to accept invitations and took me to task for not inviting him on the occasion of the *annaprāsana* of my son, as I thought it would be too presumptuous on the part of a young lecturer.

* [This is indeed a good instance of D. R. Bhandarkar's numerous witty humours for which he was often spoken about. See Charandas Chatterjee and Subodh Mookerjee below.—Ed.]

** [Now called 'Sarat Bose Road'.—Ed.]

CHARANDAS CHATTERJEE

(BORN 1897)

I WAS A STUDENT OF Professor D. R. Bhandarkar from August 1919 to April 1921. He was my teacher in epigraphy, the special subject of his lecture being Mauryan inscriptions. As a student, I had the privilege of going to his residence (at Lansdowne Road *) and getting special lessons in ancient Indian numismatics, although I used to attend also his lectures on the same subject in the University. He was extremely popular with the students, and I have no hesitation to admit that every-one of my class-mates entertained great respect and admiration for him. His profound learning was undoubtedly one of the main reasons of our attraction for his lectures, and no student liked for that reason to miss his classes.

The scholarship of Prof. Bhandarkar in ancient Indian history, particularly epigraphy, was recognised by all his colleagues in the Calcutta University and highly appreciated. His learned Carmichael Lectures testify to his scholarship in that subject. However, I would like to refer to one of his lectures on the 'Development of Early Indian Epigraphy', delivered in November, 1920, in the Indian Museum as Superintendent of Archaeology under the presidentship of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, the then Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University. The lecture was illustrated by lantern slides which was absolutely necessary to understand the intricate problems of Indian palaeography. Of those present, so far as I remember, were all the students and teachers of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University, besides Mm. Satischandra Vidyabhushan, Prof. Brajendranath Seal, Dr. P. N. Banerjee, Prof. Anantakrishna Iyer, Prof. Henry Stevens and some prominent members of the Syndicate of the Calcutta University. It was indeed a very interesting lecture, the type of which I have not heard so far. At the end of the lecture, the photo of Sir Asutosh was screened and the

* [Now called 'Sarat Bose Road'.—Ed.]

learned speaker complimented him for having organised the study of ancient Indian history and culture in the University of Calcutta in such an elaborate manner. The words of Prof. Bhandarkar was greeted with loud cheers after which Sir Asutosh stood up and complimented Prof. Bhandarkar, in highest terms, for his profound knowledge on the subject.

The appreciation of Prof. Bhandarkar by Sir Asutosh, however, was not always liked by many, some of whom even openly resented Bhandarkar's appointment as Carmichael Professor. I remember well that Sir Asutosh was not spared even by such a great personality as Sir Gooroodass Banerjee for it. * But Sir Gooroodass soon changed his opinion when he had heard some of the learned lectures of Prof. Bhandarkar delivered in the Carmichael Lectures Series. But, although Sir Gooroodas revised his impression and became an ardent admirer of Prof. Bhandarkar, Mm. Haraprasad Sastri, Prof. Radhakumud Mookerji, Sri Rakhal Das Banerji, Dr. K. P. Jayaswal and some others, some of whom had expectations for the much coveted Carmichael Professorship, ** however, used to speak ill of Prof. Bhandarkar before others, including even my humble self, whenever they had an opportunity. Prof. Bhandarkar, however, never bothered and, when we used to ask him about some of the adverse remarks against him made by any one, he used to just smile and say, 'he is a great friend of mine !'

Humour is undoubtedly a noble quality in man. In my humble opinion, it is one of his greatest assets, and is always highly appreciated in the society of intelligentsia. Prof. Bhandarkar had the rare privilege of being the possessor of that noble quality, which may be considered to be an important aspect of his character, whereby he became popular with his colleagues, in the University and in his wide circle of friends, who were full of admiration for him, even long after his death. An instance, perhaps, will not be out of place here to enlighten our readers how his humour had endeared him to his pupils. It was in the month of February, 1921, that I had to go to his place one

* [See also above, p. 21.—Ed.]

** [Was it the reason for 'animosity' between Rakhal Das Banerji and D. R. Bhandarkar referred to (see above, p. 46.) by R. C. Majumdar ?—Ed.]

morning to examine a copper-plate grant for which he wanted my assistance. At that time, he was staying in a flat at 35 Ballygunge Circular Road. He welcomed me smilingly and offered me a cup of tea with biscuits. In course of conversation, he said that I was a typical *babu*—lean, thin and dispeptic, but he himself was a *bargi*. He then asked me—‘Do you understand the meaning of *bargi*?’ ‘Yes Sir’ was my reply. ‘What is the meaning of *bargi*?’ ‘A Maratha plunderer’—I said. ‘Not a Maratha plunderer, but a Maratha soldier, and I am like a soldier’—said he. I then questioned, ‘how can you be a soldier?’ ‘A soldier must be very strong in physique, and I am, therefore, a *bargi*’. Saying this, he at once took off his shirt and asked me—‘Come here, and feel my biceps and triceps and see how strong they are’. I did as I was asked to do by my teacher, and, to my utter astonishment, I found his biceps and triceps to be very stiff. I also noticed at the same time the expansion of his chest and wondered how he could acquire all those sound physical qualities. I was, however, hesitant to put that question to him which was then uppermost in my mind. Fortunately, he came out himself with the answer.

‘You must be wondering how I got so strong muscles. Yes, whenever I used to go to the field for archaeological excavations, I used to dig with the *kulis* everyday at least for an hour without being tired, and that is how I developed the muscles. I was not so lean and thin like you in my early days, but one would not have called me to be a healthy young man. The change in me took place when I joined the archaeological department.’

In 1924, when I came to Calcutta from Lucknow to spend the summer vacation, and, as usual, I visited Prof. Bhandarkar at his Ballygunge residence, the discovery of Mohenjo-daro figured prominently in our discussion, as I do still remember. I questioned Prof. Bhandarkar as to why he did not excavate the site, although he had been there, as he himself mentioned before us at a time when we were students (1919-21) in the post-graduate classes and expressed his great anxiety for carrying on excavation at the site. To this, my teacher replied that he thought of undertaking excavation work at the site only when work with which he was then engaged i. e. Saidpur in Sind and Besnagar was complete so that greater care and more time could be devoted. But,

although he was intending to start excavation at the site in question and that is why he refused twice Sir Asutosh's request to join the University of Calcutta as its Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture, ultimately the 'Bengal Tiger' succeeded in snatching him away by arranging a sort of compromise between the Archaeological Survey of India and the Calcutta University as a result of which Bhandarkar had not only to join the post of Carmichael Professor of the University, but had also to act as the Superintendent of Archaeology, Indian Museum.

My association with Dr. Bhandarkar continued even after his retirement from the University of Calcutta in 1936, and, during my stay in Calcutta in vacations, I used to meet my teacher almost everyday and spend hours with him discussing many important points relating to the revised edition of Fleet's Corpus on the Gupta inscriptions with which he was then engaged. I met Dr. Bhandarkar, with Dr. B. C. Law, for the last time in April, 1950, shortly before his death.

The inherent qualities of my teacher, very few of which have been referred to above, are still vivid in my memory, and I strongly believe that the same is the case with all who came into contact with him. Indeed, I was fortunate enough to have a teacher like Prof. Bhandarkar, and I am proud of the same.

TRIDIBNATH RAY

(BORN 1898)

AFTER PASSING THE B. A. EXAMINATION, I took up ancient Indian history and culture for my post-graduate studies in 1920 and I had a rare good fortune to study for full two years under the great teacher Prof. Devadatta Ramkrishna Bhandarkar. At that time, our revered teacher was preparing his second series of extension lectures, as Carmichael Professor, on ancient Indian numismatics which he delivered in 1921. That year at a special convocation the Honorary Degree of Ph. D. was conferred on him while he was a Fellow of the University.

Prof. Bhandarkar taught us the history of Aśoka and his lectures in our class, in a developed form, later were delivered as the third series of Carmichael Lectures. A monumental work in the field of ancient Indian history, Prof. Bhandarkar's *Aśoka* * appeared in 1923. The texts and grammar of the Aśokan edicts we learnt from H. C. Chakladar.

With his Marathi head-dress, Dr. Bhandarkar was a picturesque figure in the whole galaxy of teachers. He took our class in his room in the south-western corner of the old Senate House which, unfortunately, has been demolished. We were so much impressed by his method of teaching that upto now the impression is vivid in our memory. He never grudged if we pointed out some incongruity in any assumption in his lectures but frankly admitted his mistake. As for example, I pointed out to him that, in the first lecture of the second series of the Carmichael Lectures (p. 16 note), he, following Whitehead, wrongly identified the image of the deity on a coin of Kadphises II as that of the Buddha seated in a conventional attitude. But I asserted that it is really a seated image of Śiva with a *jaṭāmukuta* head-dress and two hands, the right hand holding a *ḍaṇḍa*.¹ He frankly admitted his mistake and promised to mention my

* [For its different editions, etc., see the 'Bibliography of Published Writings' below.—Ed.]

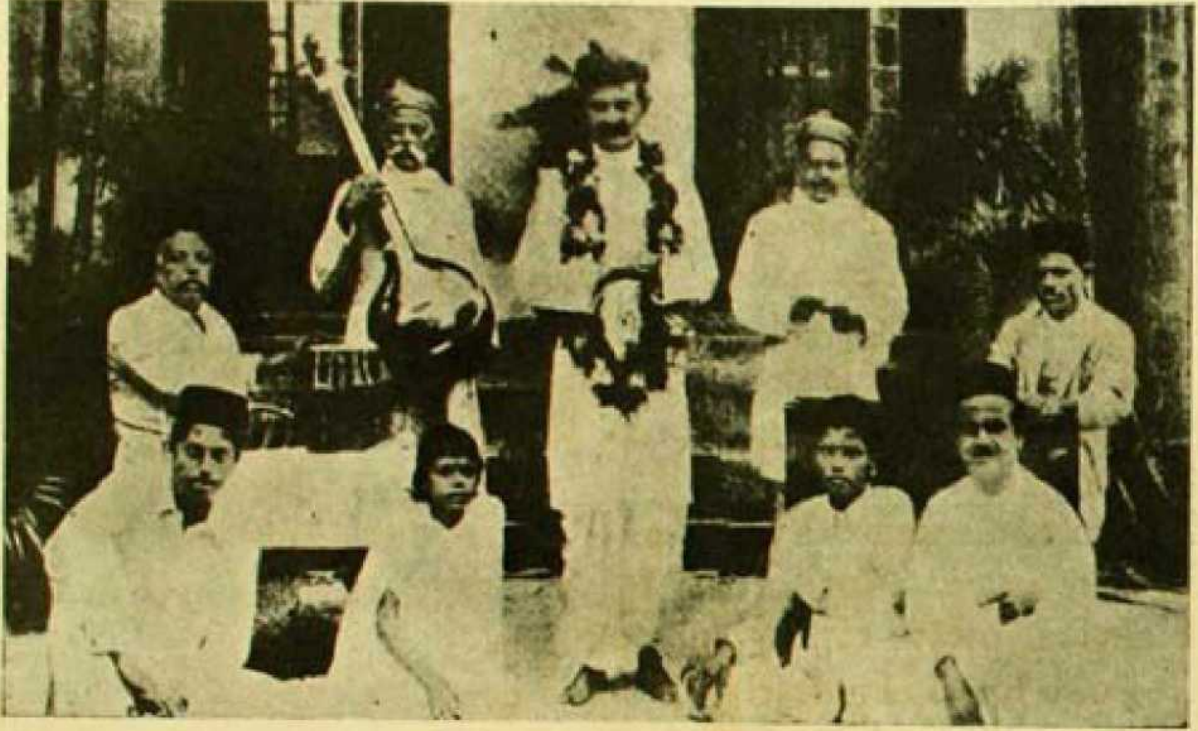
1 In one of our numismatics classes, I drew the attention of our teacher, the late

name for the correction in the second edition of the book, which, unfortunately, never appeared during his life time. * He advised me to be a research scholar under him giving up my legal profession at least for some time but the circumstances then did not allow me to take that course. I now regret for the mistake I then committed.

J. N. Banerjea (later Dr. and Carmichael Professor and Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture), to this mistake but he was not convinced at that time. He had, however, to change his opinion later. [Cf. Banerjea's *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, 2nd Ed. University of Calcutta, 1956, p. 112. note 2.—Ed.]

* [As noted already (see above, p. 23 note), the work has been reprinted in two parts. —Ed.]

ĀCĀRYA-VANDANĀ : D. R. BHANDARKAR BIRTH CENTENARY VOLUME



Bhandarkar (garlanded) among the *Kīrtanīyās*

REVA MOHANDAS RELVANI *

(BORN 1898)

I KNEW D. R. BHANDARKAR AS father and so he was till the end.

Kind hearted and just—just to a fault—afraid to hurt, he was sensitive to other peoples' suffering.

He spoke the truth even though unpleasant. And he had the rare virtue of humility.

Of his achievements in the scholastic field, I would be a poor judge. Better persons would have a great deal to say; and to them I entrust the pleasant task.

The greatest honour the world of scholars could do him would be to use his work as a base for further research and advancement in the cause of ancient Indian history and culture.

To us who loved him dearly, he is not dead.

Posterity will keep him alive.

- * [He is the husband of Sm. Vasanti Bai, second of the two daughters of D. R. Bhandarkar. Sm. Vasanti was born in 1899. The name of Bhandarkar's wife was Sita Bai and that of his first daughter Sm. Malati Bai (1897—1978). Sm. Malati, married to Dr. G. N. Rao (1890-1977), has left behind a son, Pratap, and a daughter, Dr. Sm. Ahalya Rao. —Ed.]



SUDHANSUMOHAN BANDYOPADHYAY

(BORN 1900)

DEVADATTA RAMKRISHNA BHANDARKAR'S NAME, as a reputed and authoritative historian of ancient Indian history and culture, is not an ordinary one, to conjure with. He was not merely the worthy son of a worthy father, the chip of an old block, but an old block himself. As a great Indologist of international repute, as a scholar of eminence, as an archaeological officer, who took more than an interest in his work and also as an University Professor, who had to do threefold duties of teaching, organise his newly founded department and not only conduct his own research work but help his students as well, he established an envious reputation.

We had the privilege of sitting under the feet of him, a dedicated soul, a detached savant, yet an inspired seer. Apart from organising the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, he was lecturing to us also, students of General and other branches of history as well. I was fortunate enough to be one of his students during the period 1919-1921. He was with the University from 1917 to 1936 and we immensely profited by the same. I still remember even in this old age his lucid explanation, day after day, on the topic of the Aryanisation of South India and how was it achieved.

As a man, Prof. Bhandarkar was a charming one, though a little reserved and grave. We had the good fortune to see him often engaged in lively discussions with Dr. Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, Dr. Brajendranath Seal, Dr. Surendranath Dasgupta, Dr. Suren Sen, Dr. Hemchandra Raychaudhuri, and other stalwarts.

After passing the M. A. and LL. B. examinations of the University in the twenties, I wanted to be a research scholar for a brief period, to try a shot as they say, for the Premchand Roychand Studentship, which was then a much coveted distinction and the subject I had chosen, of which I still retain a synopsis, was the 'Evolution of Indian Culture from the Earliest Times'. I was not a student of ancient Indian history proper

except what I read in the M. A. classes of the Department of General History, and my two revered teachers, to whom I take this opportunity of offering my obeisance, referred me to Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar. If I remember aright, Dr. Pramathanath Banerjee (not the Minto Professor, but the son-in-law of Sir Asutosh) even gave me a letter of introduction and a good certificate. I saw Prof. Bhandarkar at his residence as well as at the University and the first question he asked me, 'Are you serious ? Or, are you getting after competitive examinations ?' The latter proved to be too true. My father died very young and I had to seek for a job and, unfortunately or fortunately, I was thrown into the vortex of the then bureaucracy and toiled thirty years there to come back to my *alma mater*, my first favourite, more in an administrative parlance than as an academic seeker. Even when today I go to the Darbhanga Building or Asutosh Building, the memories of days of more than half a century ago haunt me as an 'Unseen Presence' and I visualise Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar as one of my great teachers to whose memory I must pay my tribute of love and respect.

HARIHAR V. TRIVEDI

(BORN 1902)

I AM HAPPY TO RECALL the reminiscences of my past days when I met the late Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, first at my own place of birth, Rampura, a town now included in the Mandsaur District of Madhya Pradesh, and at some other places thereafter.

It was on an afternoon (in about 1912), when I was receiving education in the primary class, that the school to which it belonged was suddenly closed to enable us all to have the sight of a motor car halting on a street in the town, on its further way. This sort of vehicle was in those days unknown for the town-people ; and along with the other comrades, I ran to see it, with all my curiosity. A Maharashtrian gentleman, whom I used to call *kākā* and who fondled me like his own son, saw me in the congregation, and suddenly he led me before the *Sāheb* in the car. Following the custom of old, I touched the feet of the *Sāheb* and, to my surprise, he lifted me on his shoulders ! The *kākā* accompanied him in the vehicle, to a place in the neighbourhood, and the *Sāheb* was pleased to listen to me reciting some Sanskrit verses, which I had committed to memory, all the while not knowing who he was. We returned in the evening. Several years later, I could know that the *Sāheb* was D. R. Bhandarkar and the village where we had been was no other than Modi, an archaeological place about 15 kms. from the place of my birth. It is described with its antiquities, by him, in his Western Circle Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1912-13.

The second time I met Prof. Bhandarkar was in about 1925, when I was a college student in Indore. He occasionally used to visit this city, to meet his brother who was a minister, if I remember correctly, in the former Holkar State. When I met him with my Professor of Sanskrit, S. K. Ghate, who was his old friend, he at once recognised me as the same boy, and we had discussion over the identification of Devagiri, mentioned by Kālidāsa in his *Meghadūta*. By that time I had passed my *Kāvyañirṭha* examination of the Bengal Sanskrit Association. The

identification of this place was in those days much tusselled, with keen controversy, between the States of Indore and Gwalior, and scholars of each of these states were keen to drag this place in their own individual jurisdiction. The Indorians were eager to identify it with a low hill locally known as Devguradya, about 10 kms. from their city. Prof. Bhandarkar was eager to visit this place ; but a day before, he suddenly fell ill ; and the doctor, who gave him some medicine then, prescribed an injection for the next morning. But when the doctor appeared the next morning, it was to the surprise of us all that Prof. Bhandarkar was missing, not only from his bed but also from the residence. A search in the neighbourhood also proved futile ; and conjecturing that in his eagerness he might have gone to the hill, a party, of course including myself, was sent in a car, in search of him. And on reaching the foot of the hill, we were all surprised to gaze on its topmost spot, his slim and tall figure, waving towards us his walking stick with one of his hands and his Poona-type turban with the other !

Thereafter also I met the Professor some three times, as far as I remember now, when we discussed his writings on places in my district which he visited as a Superintendent of Archaeology, and following him the other eminent archaeologist, R. D. Banerji. I remember how well in one of our meetings I convinced him that the names of some of the places he entered in his survey reports as merely based on hearsay and their correct names were different, *e. g.*, Kohla (Kamalāpura), Modi (Mauḍī) and Khadavda (Khidāvadapura), all mentioned in inscriptions, *in situ*.

Bhandarkar favoured me by publishing my articles in the *Indian Culture*, of which he was one of the editors ; and when he published my article 'Geography of Kauṭilya' in Vol. I thereof (till then I had studied only Sanskrit), he advised me to study epigraphy. Then, of course, I did not know what this big bug was. But this new enthusiasm changed the whole aspect of my studies ; and when I met him last at his residence at Ballygunge in Calcutta, he was satisfied to know that his advice was fruitful. * Then he had grown extremely old, walking with

* [Bhandarkar foresaw an epigraphist in Trivedi. Had he been alive, he would have been happier to know that Trivedi has been entrusted to edit the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. VII.—Ed.]

the help of a stick ; and when I left him on that occasion, he came to the outer door of his house, to give me a send off ; notwithstanding my repeated requests not to do so, and he only remarked 'I am not coming for you but to do honour to the goddess of learning enshrined in your mind'. These words I still remember ; and to do honour to such a magnanimous personality and an outstanding scholar, I only recall the Sanskrit verse :

N=āguṇī guṇinam vetti guṇī ca guṇa-matsari |
Guṇī guṇānurāgī ca viralās=tādṛśā narāḥ ||

DEVAPRASAD GHOSH

(BORN 1903)

TALL, ARISTOCRATIC AND HANDSOME, Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar used to tower above his colleagues in the University because of his Maratha turban laced with *jari*. In paying my humble tribute to his scholarship and eminence, I try to recall here a few incidents concerning his love and affection for his students.

In 1933, when Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee was the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, several post-graduate research fellowships were created for the first time. One such fellowship was allotted to the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture. Both myself and my esteemed friend Niharranjan Ray, (later Dr. Ray),* applied for the same. On the day of the selection meeting for the award of fellowships and research scholarships, both the applicants along with my late lamented friend D. K. Sanyal who was a candidate for a research scholarship in the Department of Economics were anxiously waiting in the *verandah* of the Darbhanga Building for the final decision of the committee. But I had to come away disappointed as I failed to know the result. So, next day, early in the morning, with a great deal of trepidation in my heart, I went to the Ballygunge Circular Road residence of Prof. Bhandarkar. I was greatly relieved to be welcomed by him with a broad smile. On enquiring about the result of the meeting, he confided to me that when, as the Chairman of the Selection Committee, Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee asked him, as the Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, as to whom he recommended among the two principal candidates, he replied at once, 'Sir, both of them are like my sons, so it is very difficult for me to select any of them ; I leave the matter to you'.

Several years later, in 1936, I was appointed by the Calcutta

* [Dr. Ray was the Bageswari Professor and Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University, and is now Emeritus Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture, University of Calcutta.—Ed.]

ĀCĀRYA VANDANĀ : D. R. BHANDARKAR BIRTH CENTENARY VOLUME

University Curator to organize the Asutosh Museum of Indian Art, the first University Museum in India. But, unfortunately, as no room or hall specifically suitable for a Museum was available, I was assigned to the Indian Museum to undergo one year's training. At that time whenever I met Prof. Bhandarkar he used to hail me as 'the Curator without a museum'. What could I do but plead my own helplessness? At last the much sought after opportunity came when Prof. Bhandarkar very generously offered his own spacious room at the south-west corner of the old and now demolished Senate Hall. At once was started the nucleus of the Museum with only five gifted specimens—(i) a copper-plate grant, (ii-iii) two small but unique stone sculptures of the Pāla period and (iv-v) two contemporary paintings of the neo-Bengal school—with the help of two high benches and two low benches. Subsequently the adjoining western hall of the Senate House, where the Senate meetings of the Calcutta University used to be held was vacated for the Museum to develop. I still wonder how the Asutosh Museum, which can now boast of a magnificent collection of about thirty thousand objects, could be established at all had it not been for the generous posture of Prof. Bhandarkar offering his own room, before he vacated. Otherwise any department of the University would have gladly grabbed it, because of the unfortunate shortage of space prevailing at that time.

ATULKRISHNA SUR

(BORN 1904)

TIMES HAVE CHANGED SINCE 1925 when I joined the M. A. course in Ancient Indian History and Culture of the Calcutta University. In those days we used to regard our teachers as *gurus* or preceptors, and the teachers in turn also used to bestow their kindly love, affection and blessings on their pupils. This kind of relationship forged an eternal link between the students and the teachers. I may give here an instance. Almost 35 years after I had left the university and had not happened to meet any of my former teachers, I went to see Dr. Kalidas Nag at his Basanta Roy Road house with a qualmish heart to request him to go through the manuscript of my work *History and Culture of Bengal*. I found him as cordial as decades ago, for as soon as he saw me he at once embraced me dearly and talked to me with self-same suavity as before. He not only went through the manuscript but also contributed a foreword to it.

I was equally dear to D. R. Bhandarkar as well. Now before I met Prof. Bhandarkar in his epigraphy class I had a divided opinion about him. While some of his old students admired his scholarship, I read as well some articles against him in the *Modern Review* in which the anonymous writer tried to show that his scholarship was virtually nil. In the University I was not a student of epigraphy. Anthropology was my special subject. But, ridden with curiosity to see the man, one day I stepped into his class which used to be held in the room at the south western corner of the old Senate House. Later the room was occupied by the Asutosh Museum. When I entered his class I was at once captivated by his personality and bearing. He had a well-built frame and an attractive appearance. He was immaculately dressed in European style, but instead of a cap or hat a black-coloured turban was worn round his head. The turban gave princely touch to his figure.

After he had called out the rolls, he counted the heads and found one extra student present in his class. So he wanted to know who he

was. I rose up. He asked me why did I not answer the roll call. I told him that I was not a student of epigraphy, but because I had a mind to learn it, so I was present there. Rather cynically he cast a glance of interest on me. His opinion about me changed when he found me attending his class day after day. At last one day when the class was over he asked me to stay a while. I remained, and after a brief talk, he invited me to his residence at 35 Ballygunge Circular Road. I felt gratified, and next day early in the morning I went to his residence. That was a day of days in my life. With a smiling face and a happy mood he received me. Thereafter he gave me a lot of instruction as to how I can properly master palaeography and epigraphy. He also asked me to study critically the epigraphs of any particular dynasty of my choice and to reconstruct the history of that dynasty in the light of my study of the epigraphs. Presently a thin young man entered the room, and Prof. Bhandarkar introduced him to me as his stenographer. He also told the stenographer who I was and asked him to afford all facilities to me from his library to carry on my study. I then studied the literature on the epigraphs of the Gāhaḍavālas of Kanauj in his library and produced a paper on the subject which Prof. Bhandarkar read too critically and when he was satisfied with it, he sent it to the *Indian Historical Quarterly* * for publication. It may be noted that the paper was written while I was still a student and had not yet obtained my M. A. degree. All this is mentioned to put emphasis on the great interest that Prof. Bhandarkar used to take in a student.

I continued to go to the house of Prof. Bhandarkar every morning and we had frequent discussions on many an obscure point of Indology. One day Prof. Bhandarkar gave me the transcript of an inscription of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Amoghavarṣa I and asked me to decipher it and prepare a translation of the decipherment. I did it, and, after thoroughly editing it, he published it in the *Epigraphia Indica*. ** I also helped him in the preparation of a revised version of his classic paper on the Nāgara Brāhmaṇas. *** But the major task that he entrusted to me was conversion into English calendar year of the dates mentioned

* [Cf. Vol. V, No. I, March, 1929, pp. 86-102.—Ed.]

** [Vol. XVIII, 1925-[19]26, Art. No. 26, pp. 235-37.—Ed.]

*** [Cf. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. LXI, March, 1932, pp. 41-55 ; April, 1932, pp. 61-72.—Ed.]



in various inscriptions of Northern India of which he was then preparing a list.

In 1928, Sir John Marshall, then Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India, wrote a letter to Prof. Bhandarkar to inquire whether he knew of any such student who was at once qualified in both ancient Indian history and anthropology and was willing to undertake as a line of research an inquiry into the influence of the newly discovered Indus Valley Civilization on the development of later Hindu culture. Prof. Bhandarkar wrote back to tell Sir John that he had such a student then working under him. So Sir John's choice fell on me. Sir John initially desired that the work should be carried on under the auspices of the Archaeological Survey of India. I agreed and had undertaken it. But presently I had a call from Dr. Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, then President of the Post-graduate Council of the Calcutta University and also from Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee. So I went to the houses of both. They insisted that the research work should be carried on under the aegis of the University and under the guidance of Prof. Bhandarkar. I could not neglect this direction from the heads of my own *alma mater* and was immediately appointed a stipendiary research assistant of Prof. Bhandarkar.

A vista of fascinating study now lay before me, and I received all kinds of encouragement and help from both Prof. Bhandarkar and Dr. Radhakrishnan who had just then published his work *Hindu View of Life* which too had for its thesis the contention that the Hindu culture was an amalgam of Aryan and Dravidian cultures. Every day early in the morning at five o'clock I used to leave my home near Shyambazar, catch the first bus for Kalighat, alight at Jagubabu Bazar, and tramp all the way from there along Puddapukur Road to Prof. Bhandarkar's residence. That was then the only way to reach Prof. Bhandarkar's residence, beyond which everything was wilderness in the east. There at Prof. Bhandarkar's residence I would take my tea and breakfast and start on my work immediately. Sometime my work would carry me on to the noon, and Prof. Bhandarkar would ask me to take my meals at his place. On those days I used to leave Prof. Bhandarkar's residence in the evening at five o'clock. I should add that Prof. Bhandarkar was a man of hard work and would disdain any slothness on the part of any of his pupils.

Prof. Bhandarkar was always proud of his pupils, particularly those in whom he noticed his own habit of doing hard work, sincerity of purpose, and stamps of his own character. He was a man of puritan character, charming manners and ever willing to help his students. Two qualities that were most precious to him were decency and dignity. That is why, though of a polemical turn of mind, he would never attack anybody in the papers or in public, though he himself was attacked by others. Confidently he would sometime tell his students that use of polemics is a necessary quality for the development of critical faculty in one. That is why he would sometimes induce us to enter into the arena of a polemical battle on many a controversial topic of the day. I would just cite an instance. Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji of Lucknow University wrote a book on *Harṣa* which appeared in the 'Rulers of India' Series. Prof. Bhandarkar gave me the book for doing a review of it in the *Indian Antiquary*. I wrote a stereotyped review. But that did not satisfy Prof. Bhandarkar. He wanted that I must use my critical faculty and read the book seriously to find out whether all the data and citations in the work were correct. This was a sort of cue to me. So I re-read the book and prepared another review which was published in the *Indian Antiquary*. *

An outstanding trait in the character of Prof. Bhandarkar was his friendly relationship with his students. I left the University in 1931 to try my luck in the field of economics and business in Clive Street. But Prof. Bhandarkar never allowed his contact with me to be lost. He would frequently give me a ring to meet him. As a matter of fact he remembered me many years after I had left the University. One thing that my intimate contact with him convinced me was that what I had previously read in the *Modern Review* was all malicious and spiteful. Worthy son of a worthy father, he was an Indologist of the first order. By my contact with him, I imbibed the habit of doing hard work, which later paid me well in Clive Street.

* [Cf. Vol LX, December, 1931, pp. 247-48.—Ed.]

DURGADAS MUKHERJEE

(BORN 1906)

WHEN I THINK OF MY STUDENT DAYS, I find that fortune must have been remarkably gracious to me in as much as she gave me a number of eminent teachers whose memory is a priceless treasure to me at this stage of my life. Prof. Bhandarkar was undoubtedly one of the teachers who exercised deep influence upon me.

To revive the memory of my association with Prof. Bhandarkar, as one of his pupils, is to undertake a long long journey backwards. It was exactly half a century ago that I got myself admitted* into the M. A. course in Ancient Indian History and Culture of the Calcutta University. I chose epigraphy and numismatics for my special study and so was put in charge of Prof. Bhandarkar who delivered lectures at that time on the inscriptions of Aśoka. However, rather funny incident happened at the beginning of our career as students of archaeology which prevented us from meeting Prof. Bhandarkar for sometime. I remember that for several weeks no class on Aśoka was held, because Prof. Bhandarkar did not come to our class room at the usual hour. In this way, after several weeks, we got a notice from the post-graduate office that Prof. Bhandarkar had been coming regularly while we were absent ourselves from our class. We then went to the office and explained everything, but, to our surprise, we learnt that we ought to have seen the Professor in his private room at the back of the former Senate House where he used to take his classes. Next time we went to Prof. Bhandarkar and offered our excuses which he graciously acceptd.

Great as a scholar, Prof. Bhandarkar was very soon discovered by me to be equally great as a teacher. His method of teaching was a bit unique. I remember how he would distribute a number of books on Aśoka to ask his students to read an inscription and would often interrupt the reading of the relevant inscription from Hultzsch's in his possession

* [In 1927.—Ed.]

to make us read the relevant comments from other authors in their books. In this way, the class of Prof. Bhandarkar was more a class of discussion than the usual type of formal lectures. Of course, the progress was rather limited for during two years we did not reach even the end of the Thirteenth Rock Edict, if I remember correctly.

I was not fully equipped at that period to grasp Prof. Bhandarkar's learning in its full extent, but what I perfectly realised was the excellence of his method of imparting instruction. I gratefully acknowledge that it is from him that I have learnt to appreciate quality more than quantity.

Prof. Bhandarkar's classes were attended sometimes by other students and also by teachers. Among these latter, the memory of the Japanese scholar R. Kimura * is still fresh in my mind. He was also a teacher in our Department for Buddhism, and could speak our language (Bengali) a bit. Kimura used to take copious notes on the margin of his copy of Aśoka's inscriptions, of course, in his own language, as I discovered on one occasion.

Prof. Bhandarkar's lectures were by no means a monotony. They would be interspersed with anecdotes, references to non-academical questions and the like. Sometimes, he would tell us how he effected some of his famous archaeological discoveries like the Besnagar pillar inscription, to take the impression of which he had to propitiate the keeper of the Kham Baba with a bottle of wine.

It has been my luck not only to sit at the feet of eminent teachers, but also to receive affectionate treatment from them. Prof. Bhandarkar was a loving teacher to me. I was in those days a carefree smiling youth and Prof. Bhandarkar noticed this very soon. Once he made the remark, perhaps with a tinge of envy, natural at his stage of life at that time, that I was always smiling and that no care seemed to check my smile. This remark of my affectionate teacher recurs to me often in my present stage of life when age has practically withered what was in my youth and 'uncaused joy'.

* [Ryukan Kimura was appointed Lecturer to teach Buddhist History and Mahāyāna in the Calcutta University in 1918 and in 1931 he gave up this post. On 4.11.1931, he changed his name for the second time to Nikki Kimura. He was made Emeritus Professor of the Rissho University on 1.4.1957. For further information on Kimura, cf. *Prācyavidyā-taraṅgiṇī*, ed. D. C. Sircar, Calcutta University, 1969.—Ed.]



BINAYAKNATH BANERJEE *

(1906—1975)

IN THE YEAR 1928, I obtained admission in the Fifth Year class in AIHC, Group II (Social and Constitutional History).

Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar was at that time the Carmichael Professor and also the ex-officio Head of the Department. He had a room for himself at the south-western corner of the now-demolished Senate House. On rare occasions when he cared to take our classes, we used to sit in the hall which later on accommodated the Asutosh Museum. The humble task of delivering elementary lectures on Aśokan epigraphy was possibly proving unattractive to him and he tried to avoid our classes as much as possible. To us, he was a blue-blooded aristocrat – in dress, demeanour and deportment. Immaculately dressed in European style, with a *jari*-border turban on his head, he used to move about with a detachment of his own. But he had a heart of gold, full of love for his students. Those who had the fortune of knowing him intimately would never forget him. After I had passed my M. A. Examination, I approached him with the request to find out some remunerated position for me somewhere in India. He hesitated for a moment, and then wrote out half a dozen letters to different universities and educational organisations, highly recommending me for either a lectureship or a research scholarship. After having obliged me in that fashion he advised me, with the rare human insight that he possessed, to try my luck at the bar and not waste my energies in academic pursuits. I now realise that he knew me better than myself. **

* [Extracts from Sri Banerjee's reminiscient note on the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University, appearing in the *Prācyavidyā-taraṅgiṇī*, ed. D. C. Sircar, Calcutta University, 1969, pp. 418-19.—Ed.]

** [Sri Banerjee was a Judge of the Calcutta High Court from 1957 to 1968.—Ed.]

PREMDHAR CHAUDHURY *

(BORN c. 1908)

I WAS IN THE UNIVERSITY of Calcutta from 1929 to 1932 studying M.A. and Law. My subject was Sanskrit (Group I) which necessitated special study of epigraphy and early Indian history.

The students of ** Ancient Indian History and Culture (Group I-A), Pali (Group C) and Sanskrit (Group I) used to meet together to listen to the lectures of Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar who taught us Aśokan inscriptions. Prof. Bhandarkar was tall and slim with an air of commanding personality. His wide scholarship endeared him to one and all. He always wove out a way to make his class lively with discussions by setting up his students to indulge in arguments on knotty points of interpretation. He had the rare quality to substitute argument for abuse and persuasion for force. Lending his lecture room the semblance of a 'moot court' in a law class, he delighted in playing the role of a judge. I had, on occasions, the fine opportunity to face Dineschandra *** in wordy duels ; we were so to say, the friendliest foes in Bhandarkar's class and, if I remember aright, we always parted with shake of hands.

* [Extracts from Sri Chaudhury's reminiscent note on the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University, published in the *Prācyavidyā-taraṅgiṇī*, ed. D. C. Sircar, Calcutta University, 1969, pp. 466-67.—Ed.]

** [Read.—'the Departments of',—Ed.]

*** [Later Dr. Sircar who was until recently the Carmichael Professor and Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, University of Calcutta, and is now Visiting Professor at Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan.—Ed.]

ADRISCHANDRA BANERJI

(1909 – 1977)

IN 1929, I GRADUATED FROM the Presidency College, Calcutta, and got myself admitted into the University of Calcutta to study ancient Indian history and culture, and my two years (1929-31) in the post-graduate classes have ultimately proved to be one of the greatest assets of my life.

At that time our Department had a galaxy of teachers with international reputation. There were Drs. H. C. Raychaudhuri, H. C. Ray, A. C. Das, Stella Kramrisch, N. C. Banerjee, Kalidas Nag, J. N. Banerjea, P. C. Bagchi and H. C. Chakladar, headed by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar. Our classes were held in the second floor of the Darbhanga Building and in the rooms of the second floor of the Asutosh Building. But the classes on Mauryan epigraphy, which were taken by Prof. Bhandarkar, were held in one of the robing rooms at the back of the old Senate Hall, where there was no coming and going of students of other subjects and where the Asutosh Museum was started later on.

It is there that I first met D. R. Bhandarkar, the scholarly son of the scholarly father Sir R. G. Bhandarkar. D. R. Bhandarkar had a fund of anecdotes about Böhler, Kielhorn, Fleet, Bhagwanlal Indraji and A. M. T. Jackson and his classes were remarkable for a mixture of critical analysis as well as good companionship. The differences in age and knowledge were easily forgotten, as if we were always in a happy family. In this respect, he did not differ from my father Rakhal Das whose students are still loyal to his memory. Although Prof. Bhandarkar was always occupied with many important things, he used to go through every line of anything written by his students, whether that was the answer of a question or a paper for publication, and make necessary corrections. I am sure that, on all my fellow students including Dineschandra Sircar and Charuchandra Das Gupta, his influence has lasted throughout. More than that, Bhandarkar has left a tradition of scholarship, insight and literary standard, which stands as ideal. In those days of worked-up regionalism, it may sound crude that he found us lovable. He was indeed affection incarnate.

ĀCĀRYA VANDANĀ : D. R. BHANDARKAR BIRTH CENTENARY VOLUME

After obtaining the M. A. degree, myself, Dines and Charu went to Prof. Bhandarkar at his 35 Ballygunge Circular Road residence, bequeathed to the University by Sir T. N. Palit. At that time, Bhandarkar was engaged in compiling the concluding part of his list of North Indian Inscriptions, and we had our initiation in that work. I had to leave after dealing with the inscriptions of the Gaṅgas of Kalinga, because of the award of the then Government of Bengal's Post-Graduate Research Scholarship in 1934 to work under Rai Bahadur K. N. Dikshit who was then Superintendent of the Archaeological Section, Indian Museum. My days passed between Prof. Bhandarkar in the morning and the Museum during the rest of the day. But when Dikshit left for Delhi and N. G. Majumdar, a pupil of Prof. Bhandarkar, took charge, gradually my association with the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture of the Calcutta University came to an end.

I bow down in all humility to my *guru* who, I am sure, will always be remembered for his success in building up a school of archaeology and oriental learning.

TAPONATH CHAKRAVARTI

(BORN 1909)

HUMAN LIFE IS LIKE a pendulum oscillating between smiles and tears. We look before and after and sigh in vain for some cherished personalities whom we have missed from our midst. Fond memories and sweet recollections of intimate men and women ever-green in our thoughts, of events leaving indelible marks which have become things of the past, often hover around us in the conscious and sub-conscious level of our minds and compel us to cast a longing lingering look behind.

As a student of the M. A. class in the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture of the University of Calcutta during the academic period 1930 to 1932 with epigraphy and numismatics as my special subjects for study, I had the good fortune to sit once a week for one hour under the feet of my *guru*, *Ācārya* Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar who was then the Carmichael Professor in the University of Calcutta. He used to teach us the inscriptions of Aśoka for one hour every week in his own room situated on the ground floor at the south-western corner of the back portion of the now-demolished Senate Hall of the University of Calcutta. He used to bring to the class from the University library and from his own collection bundles of extant published works and papers dealing with Aśoka and Aśokan inscriptions. His class was a sort of miniature debating society where students had to read out in his presence line by line and word by word of the text of every known recension of Aśokan edicts. The students were encouraged to put questions about the linguistic peculiarities, derivative or etymological meanings and historical significance of important words occurring in sentences read out by them from time to time. He would never dictate any class note. He used to answer questions put by students, give his own readings and interpretations of interesting words found in these inscriptions and his own historical conclusions in this connection inviting every now and then criticism if any from the students. In this way he used to kindle the spirit of constructive criticism and research in the minds of his students.

Instead of following the mechanical or conventional method of giving prescribed pills of knowledge to his students by dictating notes or delivering his own class lecture in accordance with the prescribed syllabus, he thus followed the method of teaching practised by learned Brāhmaṇical *ācāryas* or teachers in early days in India about whom we learn from some contemporary anecdotes given in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*.

I distinctly remember after the lapse of so many years his smiling face, his superb and majestic appearance with an air of superiority around it, suited and booted like a tall and handsome smartly dressed European gentleman of those days with a nicely brocaded turban of short height on his head. Outwardly he seemed to be living like a true scholar in a higher intellectual level of his own caring a fig for making himself cheap and popular like an ordinary teacher among the students and teachers of his own and of other departments of the Calcutta University whom he always tried to avoid. He used to come in his car to the University for taking his own class and then went away. He had no time to indulge himself in idle gossip. He used to avoid official meetings and functions. He would flight shy from his own official clerical routine works as the official head of his own department. He used to keep himself busy at home with his own study and research work and could not afford to waste his valuable time and energy in unnecessary works. This was in short the philosophy of his life while he was in service in the University. Nevertheless, his door was always open to visitors like his own colleagues in the University, his own students and even outsiders who sought his help and guidance in matters intellectual for their own research works in various untrodden fields of Indology. He had always his tenderness and affection, his words of sympathy and encouragement for struggling persons engaged in fruitless research activities and failing to get any recognition or a foothold in life.

He had a soft corner in his heart for serious students. I remember with gratitude how often he used to give me for making my own notes at my home many reprints of his own published epigraphic and numismatic papers which I used to return to him when done with. How deeply indebted to him I feel myself today when I recall that it was due to our

TAPONATH CHAKRAVARTI

repeated prayers and my personal entreaties that he agreed to teach us Gupta inscriptions for one hour once a week in the library room on the third floor of the present Indian Museum, Calcutta. I also remember how often he took me in his car after his class in the Indian Museum when he happened to come to the University.

Sweet words and kind treatment were never found wanting when I visited him at his residence in a flat of the University Science College Building at Ballygunge. When I saw him at his home just after passing the M. A. Examination of the Calcutta University in 1932, he advised me to become settled in life by securing a suitable and profitable job instead of wasting my time and energy by carrying on research works. He even offered to write a letter to Mr. J. C. Mukherji, the then Chief Executive Officer of the Corporation of Calcutta, for giving me a suitable job.

I bow down my head with gratitude and reverence for that great savant with the prayer—'May his soul rest in peace'.

SUBODH MOOKERJEE

(BORN 1911)

IT WAS IN 1931 THAT we joined the post-graduate classes of the Calcutta University. I had Honours in Economics but, for my M.A., I took up Ancient Indian History and Culture—Group I-A i.e. Archaeology. This was only because of the lure of the new subject Archaeology and the chances of seeing and learning more about our history and culture. In those days the number of students in our Department was not very large and the number of students in our Group I-A (Epigraphy and Numismatics) was only six including one lady student. In fact, the number of teachers who taught us the different papers in our Group were more than the number of students reading. This was very much in evidence when a group photo was taken at the end of the session with our teachers of Group I-A. Students were all standing behind our teachers seated on chairs in front. Those sitting were seven and those standing only five. Even then all the teachers were not available.

In such small classes the advantage was that the teachers and students could know each other intimately. Prof. Bhandarkar was very intimate with us. Sometimes he was very cunning and sarcastic. But all of us appreciated his keen sense of humour even though at times it was at our own cost. During his classes with only 4 or 5 students (all were not present always) in his room behind the huge sound board of the old Senate Hall we were all very comfortably accommodated, and we did actually enjoy whatever he talked about. We did not take it at all as a serious class lecture but an interesting talk and we learnt much from just what he said. While teaching he would ask, 'Tell me the date of Bindusāra', and then he himself quoted a wrong date at which some of us nodded and repeated it, while he turned round other students and laughed, 'Look what he says, is it correct?' The student who nodded then realised his mistake of falling into the trap. He also joined the class in laugh, along with the teacher. It was thus that the class was enlivened and we were sorry to find that the full one hour period

was over so soon. There was no dictation of notes so much but his illuminating talks were enough to make us interested in our studies.

We had classes with him in the Indian Museum also and those on Fridays when the museum was closed to the public. Our classes on coins were generally held in the coin-room with Banerjea* and on Aśokan edicts in the archaeological library hall on the third floor with Prof. Bhandarkar. On one such day while he was teaching, Dr. Stella Kramrisch happened to come to the library. Prof. Bhandarkar at once called her and said 'Dr. Kramrisch, did you want to see me?' Dr. Kramrisch turned round and remarked 'No, unless you wanted me' and she walked off. We all enjoyed the scene. Prof. Bhandarkar then spoke to us—'I do not remember but some one told me that she wanted to see me. Any way let us turn to our subject.'

It was really very interesting to hear Prof. Bhandarkar speaking about his experiences in field archaeology as Superintendent, Western Circle. His account of deciphering the famous Garuḍa pillar inscription of Heliodorus after removing the vermillion from the foot stool of the pillar only after offering bottles of drinks to the priest, was really very funny. I very much remembered his talks, when, much later, I paid a visit to the ancient site. While teaching Samudragupta's Allahabad pillar inscription, he referred to so many interesting points which kept all his students enthralled even though these were not very important from our examination point of view. The teacher had the power to make his subject interesting so that we all felt inquisitive and did read. His sense of humour** we realised when he referred to Doctors H. C. Raychaudhuri and H. C. Ray, both of whom were our teachers. Both of them had the same name 'Hemchandra'. Raychaudhuri was Ph. D. (Cal.) and Ray Ph. D. (Lond.) He referred to them respectively as 'Homeopathic Doctor' and 'Allopathic Doctor'. One day again he humourously remarked, 'Which Hem you mean, the *'khāto Hem'* or *'dhyāṅgā Hem'*?' Dr. Raychaudhuri

* [Apparently, the late Dr. J. N. Banerjea who was the Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University, from 1952 to 1959.—Ed.]

** [Cf. pp. 49 above.—Ed.]

ĀCĀRYA VANDANĀ : D. R. BHANDARKAR BIRTH CENTENARY VOLUME

was short statured while Dr. Ray was rather tall. He was always jovial and smiling ; indeed he was as if a God-father to his students.

We often went to meet him at his residence, at Ballygunge Science College Sir T. N. Palit's Bungalow, which was bequeathed to the University. At that time Dr. Bhandarkar was the highest paid staff in the University. We were always treated to tea and light refreshments and he was very kind and friendly to us. After our final examination, one of our friends went to see him with the request to try for a job in a bank for him. Our friend had an handsome appearance and his complexion was milk white. Dr. Bhandarkar frankly told, 'Why should you go in for such lowly paid jobs ? Better, why don't you try to join the films ? You have a loveable look and should turn out to be a star in the film line in no time. You are educated and if you go the films, the line itself will also improve.' A teacher advising his pupil to join the films about fortyfive years back certainly shows how advanced were his views.

For his students he had always a soft corner in his heart. He always tried to help and accommodate them. A man of his stature could have been very tough and unapproachable but he was never that. Even though a Maharashtrian his love for Bengal and Bengalee students is proverbial. Calcutta was his second home. We were never afraid of meeting him while there were many other teachers in the Department whom we could not approach so freely. We were intimate with him and looked upon him as our friend, philosopher and guide.

For the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, Dr. Bhandarkar had a very high regard and admiration. He was at times critical of his colleagues but never spoke against any one to us. Once in his bereavement we went to share his grief. He very slowly spoke and said—'Life was such and all of us had to bear with such afflictions. Time will ultimately heal the wound.' Teachers and students make up the University in all times, in all climes. But such teachers as Devadatta Ramkrishna Bhandarkar will be very few these days. His care, his love and his anxiety for his students will ever be cherished by those who knew him as a man and an endearing teacher. His personality itself commanded respect from all coming into his contact.

KALYANKUMAR GANGULI

(BORN 1912)

ALL STUDENTS OF PROF. BHANDARKAR will remember him not only as a man of great learning but also as a man having immense personal charm. They will remember him as a teacher of unusual qualities, one who was so great, yet so near. Though others teaching in our Department like Dr. Raychaudhuri, Dr. P. C. Bagchi, Dr. Hemchandra Ray and Dr. Kalidas Nag were no less distinguished teachers yet they appeared a little remote, more having their halos confined to the class room. Bhandarkar tried to come nearer the students often asking about their homes and families, exuding sympathy towards those who, he knew, were in distress. His lectures in the class were quite attractive, as we could feel at that time and later knew that those were full of points and information derived from profound scholarship.

For two years (1933-1935) when we were students in the post-graduate classes, we had developed a high grade of admiration for him. He had some assignment to work upon, as we often found him in the library of the Indian Museum, where we used to go every Friday to have our classes with Dr. Stella Kramrisch and on some other days for purposes of study. Here we could talk with the Professor more freely outside our classes. In fact, he had emerged to us as an extremely benevolent person, a father figure, dominant yet friendly.

After passing the M. A. examination, fortunately, I received a scholarship in the Department to work as the Research Assistant to the Bageswari Professor. The library of the Indian Museum has been a very rich one and I had often to go to the same for my studies. This library was a very favourite haunt of Prof. Bhandarkar and I could meet him there quite frequently. As far as I remember, he was at that time engaged in preparing the revised edition of Fleet's Corpus of Gupta inscriptions. Meeting him in the corridor

KALYANKUMAR GANGULI

of the third floor of the Museum building, from where the unbounded expanse of the green grassland of the Maidan offered a delightful view, we would talk for minutes. I had occasion to tell him about my gratefulness towards him for a particular reason. This was in connection with my coming to the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture as a student. I had a fascination for the subject and those were days when very few persons would opt to study the subject. When I had applied for admission, the then Secretary of the Post-Graduate Council told me that since I had not studied history at my B. A. level, normally I would not get permission to study the subject. I could only get a chance, if the Head of the Department would agree to take me in. He called a bearer and asked him to show me the room of the Head of the Department, Professor Bhandarkar, at the back of the now-demolished Senate Hall. I, however, had not to go all the way to his room. The bearer pointed to an evidently distinguished figure crossing over the lawn between the Asutosh Building and the Senate House and said, 'There goes Prof. Bhandarkar'. I hurried after him with the application form in my hand. Raw as I was at that time, having no experience about nature of people placed in high position, I approached the Professor on that spot requesting him to give me the necessary permission. Any other person would have taken exception to my manners, but the Professor did not give me any cause to understand that I had not done a proper thing by meeting him for an official permission in that odd place. Smiling, he recommended my application. Well, it was a great act of charity since the permission that Prof. Bhandarkar had given me that day had laid the foundation of my future career.* I have always cherished an humble sense of gratefulness towards Prof. Bhandarkar whose name had been a myriad to many, but, to me he had a greater image of respect to which I shall always bow down my head in humble submission.

* [Dr. Ganguli was until recently the Bageswari Professor and Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, University of Calcutta.—Ed.]

SUSHILKUMAR BOSE

(BORN 1915)

TO RETRIEVE FROM THE MEMORY-BOX incidents of forty years ago can prove strenuous, but my four years (1934-38) of close association with my preceptor, the late Prof. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar was so illuminating and left such an indelible impression on my formative mind that it is, as it were, frozen in my culture, without being aware of it. Reminiscing about the period, therefore, proves more tractable than would have been otherwise possible. From my school days, I was always very keen on history. In the sphere of early Indian history, I was drawn to Aśokan studies, as if by a spell. And it was his reputation as an Aśokan scholar that lured me to Prof. Bhandarkar and to the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture of the University of Calcutta.

Apart from the fact that I had a First Class Honours in history, I had no special introduction to the venerable teacher, but it was my good fortune that quite soon during the first term we established a harmonious personal equation. He was utterly prodigal in extending all manner of help and I, keen as mustard, was eager to absorb everything coming my way. It was altogether a happy beginning.

Little did I suspect that frustration was round the corner. Within some months of our coming close together, the Professor discovered that I was weak in Sanskrit. 'Normally' he told me one day 'I would ask you to quit'. Although he said it without harshness, without reproach, my dreamland had been devastated. Noticing my discomfiture (my eyes must have been wet), he promptly proceeded to reassuring me that, given a measure of devotion and dedication, there was no reason why I should not render a good account of myself inspite of this particular declivity.

His first act of encouragement and magnanimity was to procure for me what was then considered the last available copy of

Buhler's Chart in a lovely hard-board and cloth bound volume. 'This is my gift ; take care that you don't lose it, because it is unlikely you will ever get another copy'. Eventually I did lose it in that a friend from the Archaeological Survey of India who borrowed it for reference never cared to give it back !

My active research work started when the Professor associated me with his work in connection with the publication of the *Indian Culture* of which he was one of the active editors. He encouraged me to write articles for the journal and helped me with material support. Almost as a matter of routine, he gave me photographs of two coins (unnoticed until then) which were published in the *Indian Culture*. Cornucopia represents horn of plenty ; that is what Prof. Bhandarkar was to me in the matter of original materials. I had at my disposal innumerable estampages of north Indian inscriptions of Aśokan, Kuṣāṇa and Gupta periods. Not only this, the Professor was kind enough to allow me to utilise his library. This is something worth-mentioning ; for he had a remarkable collection and, if one got accepted, one had a unique opportunity. On a previous occasion I had mentioned about the Vākāṭaka copper-plate of Pravarasena II which was published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 52-56 ; in this I received valuable assistance from my esteemed friend Dineschandra Sircar whose epigraphical acumen I place almost equal to that of my teacher. Mr. Bahadur Singh Singhi's collection of coins was legendary. It was through the courtesy of Prof. Bhandarkar that I had unfettered access to it. I mention all this because nobody knows where would have been even the trio, N. G. Majumdar, C. D. Chatterjee and D. C. Sircar, the most successful students of Prof. Bhandarkar in the field of epigraphy and numismatics, if they were to be bereft of the Professor's great concern for the advancement of his students and his all out effort to give everything that he had in and with him.

I do not know how far Prof. Bhandarkar's ideal to encourage his students extending all possible help is followed at present. No alternative is, however, left for a teacher intending to get the greatest reward in his life—a successful student, I mean.

Prof. Bhandarkar was not argumentative in the least ; at least his

SUSHILKUMAR BOSE

students never had any glimpse of it. But all research work involves polemics, and his peculiar gift was to get others engaged in battle of wits. He would hardly ever himself jostle. The raging topics were Śaka era, Aśvamedha *yajña* and Mohenjo-daro script. I have the most gratifying memories of these discussions at his house. On hot and sultry days he would often serve home-made ice-cream. During my days Prof. Bhandarkar was working on Fleet's Corpus, Volume III, but I was only at the periphery. Dines Sircar was more actively involved. About this young scholar, the Professor had the highest esteem. Needless to say, I share it in the fullest measure. The one characteristic common to both the scholars which I used to admire most and do even now is their respect for facts.

My real earnest work was based on certain queries raised by Bhandarkar while editing the inscription of Candragupta II of the Gupta year 61 (380-81 A. D.). These had a bearing on the traditional views about the Eastern variety of certain test letters. My studies were in the form of a monograph although I never got round to publishing it. I freely acknowledge my debt to him because without his constant encouragement this would not have been possible.

I should like to close my homage by recalling a rare act of grace on his part. F. W. Thomas was visiting Calcutta and I remember a small reception for him presided over by the late Prof. Dr. Sunitikumar Chatterjee. The welcome address was read out in Sanskrit and Professor Thomas responded extempore in Sanskrit ! The same evening Prof. Bhandarkar had invited the visitor at his residence at Lovelock Street, Ballygunge. Apparently it was meant for just the two of them. I was asked to join, which I did with considerable trepidation. 'May I introduce my young friend Sushil Bose'—said Prof. Bhandarkar ; 'He will soon be going to Oxford to work under you'. I was overwhelmed and I prayed to God to bless him—my preceptor, D. R. Bhandarkar, and I pray the same for him even today, while expressing gratitude for the opportunity so kindly offered to me to pay my homage to that great soul.

APPENDIX

EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS

SUNITIKUMAR CHATTERJI

April 28, 1975.

I have to thank you for your letter....in connection with the proposal to celebrate the Birth Centenary of Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar of the University of Calcutta in a suitable manner.

I am in full sympathy with the aims and objectives of the society,* and I wish it all success....the four objectives you have mentioned in your letter have my fullest support,....

I hope the eminent professors of history....whose names are well-known all over India and outside India also....will be able to take part in the Centenary.

NIHARRANJAN RAY

May 8, 1975.

I am happy to acknowledge your letter...in regard to Professor D. R. Bhandarkar Birth Centenary Celebration.

Professor Bhandarkar was my teacher, and I was perhaps his first Research Assistant. I used to hold him, and do even now, in great regard. I would, therefore, consider it a proud privilege to be associated with your Committee and participate in its programme....

K. D. BAJPAI

May 8, 1975.

I** am thankful to you for your letter....and am happy to know that you have decided to celebrate the Birth Centenary of Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar.

The contribution of Prof. Bhandarkar to the advancement of Indological studies is very great indeed....

* [Read.—'Committee'—Ed.]

** [For his article, see Part II below.—Ed.]



M. N. DESHPANDE

May 9, 1975.

Kindly refer to your letter...on the subject of formation of a Committee to celebrate the Birth Centenary of Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar.

I am glad to say that you have undertaken a very important work and we shall be glad to help you in the fulfilment of your objectives to the extent it is possible....

R. S. SHARMA

May 14, 1975.

Thank you for your letter....

I am happy to learn of the proposal for the celebration of the Birth Centenary of Professor D. R. Bhandarkar. It is a good idea.... he had contributed so much....

B. P. SINHA

July 24, 1975.

I have received the circular letter and I am very much happy to learn that you propose to celebrate D. R. Bhandarkar's Centenary.... Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar was in many ways a pioneer in researches in Indian history and culture and it is very proper that we pay our homage to him and thereby discharge a debt to this great Indologist...

A. M. SHASTRI

July 25, 1975.

Thank you very much for your letter.... Like all students of ancient Indian history and archaeology, I* am very happy to learn that you have formed a committee to celebrate Professor D. R. Bhandarkar's Centenary.... I should congratulate you for this noble act on behalf of myself and the Department. Dr. Bhandarkar's contributions to Indological studies are great....

* [For his article, see Part II below.—Ed.]



APPENDIX : EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS

A. L. BASHAM

January 12, 1976.

I much regret that pressure of time makes it impossible for me to submit a paper for the D. R. Bhandarkar Centenary Volume. The great scholar whom you are commemorating is one to whom the study of Indian history remains forever in debt, for his many contributions to the elucidation of his country's past. It is rarely in the history of scholarship that a son follows so closely in his father's footsteps.

It would be not only a pleasure, but also an honour to contribute to a volume devoted to the memory of such a great man, but I hope that you and your committee will accept this letter as evidence of my respect for his fine scholarship and my good wishes for the success of your venture.

JOHN IRWIN

April 14, 1976.

Many thanks for your letter....

I have a great respect for the late D. R. Bhandarkar and would like to contribute something if I* am possibly squeeze the time to do it...

GIUSEPPE TUCCI

June 10, 1976.

....thank you for your kind letter in which you ask me to supply an article to the Prof. Bhandarkar Birth Centenary Volume.

I am very much busy in organizing our archaeological mission for the East and I can hardly spare any time, but in spirit I am near you in this occasion. I consider it to be a great honour because Bhandarkar, whom I knew personally, still is one of the outstanding personalities of Indian culture, and therefore, much to my regret, I am really very sorry not being able to gratify your desire.

I send you my very best wishes for your very interesting initiative.

*[For his article, see Part II below.—Ed.]



T. V. MAHALINGAM

September 18, 1975.

I am in receipt of your letter....inviting me to contribute a paper* to the Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar Birth Centenary Volume. Thanks. It is an excellent idea that the late Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar is to be remembered and honoured by the publication of a Commemoration Volume in his name. He was a scholar of great eminence with much original research to his credit and we owe a lot to him for our understanding of ancient Indian history and culture.

* [For his paper, see Part II below.--Ed.]

(3)

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* [Henceforth *Journ. Anc. Ind. Hist.*—Ed.]

** [Cf. H. Sastri's *Guide to Elephanta*, 1934 (Reprinted 1974), 'Preface'. No copy of Bhandarkar's *Guide* could be traced.—Ed.]

*** [In arranging alphabetically, 'A', 'An' and 'The' in the titles have not been considered all through the 'Bibliography'.—Ed.]

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* [Henceforth *Ind. Ant.*—Ed.]

** [Henceforth *Ind. Cult.*—Ed.]

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1. 'Alas Plates of the Yuvarāja Govinda II, Śaka Saṁvat 692', *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, 1900-[19]01, Art. No. 18, pp. 208-13.
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III. 'Sevadi Stone Inscription of Aśvarāja, [Vikrama] Saṁvat 1167'.

IV. 'Sevadi Stone Inscription of Kaṭukarāja, [Vikrama] Saṁvat 1172'.

V. 'Bali Stone Inscription of Āśvāka, [Vikrama] Saṁvat 1200'.

VI. 'Sevadi Stone Inscription of Kaṭudeva, [Śimha] Saṁvat 31'.

VII. 'Nadlai Stone Inscription of Rāyapāla, [Vikrama] Saṁvat 1189'.

* [Stated (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 26) to have been discovered by Bhandarkar during his tours in the southern and south-eastern parts of Marwar in 1907-08 and 1908-09, these inscriptions are enlisted here following Bhandarkar's order of arrangement.—Ed.]

- VIII. 'Nadlai Stone Inscription of Rāyapāla, [Vikrama] Saṁvat 1195'.
- IX. 'Nadol Stone Inscription of Rāyapāla, [Vikrama] Saṁvat 1198'.
- X. 'Nadlai Stone Inscription of Rāyapāla, [Vikrama] Saṁvat 1200'.
- XI. 'Nadlai Stone Inscription of Rāyapāladeva, [Vikrama] Saṁvat 1202'.
- XII. 'Kiradu Stone Inscription of Ālhaṇadeva, [Vikrama] Saṁvat 1209'.
- XIII. 'Sanderav Stone Inscription of Kelhaṇadeva, [Vikrama] Saṁvat 1221'.
- XIV. 'Nadlai Stone Inscription of Kelhaṇa, [Vikrama] Saṁvat 1228'.
- XV. 'Lalrai Stone Inscription of Kelhaṇadeva, [Vikrama] Saṁvat 1233'.
- XVI. 'Lalrai Stone Inscription of Lākhaṇapāla and Abhayapāla, [Vikrama] Saṁvat 1233'.
- XVII. 'Sanderav Stone Inscription of Kelhaṇadeva, [Vikrama] Saṁvat 1236'.
- XVIII. 'Jalor Stone Inscription of Samarasimhadeva, [Vikrama] Saṁvat 1239'.
- XIX. 'Jalor Stone Inscription of Samarasimhadeva, [Vikrama] Saṁvat 1242'.
- XX. 'Bhinmal Stone Inscription of Udayasimhadeva, [Vikrama] Saṁvat 1306'.
- XXI. 'Sanchor Stone Inscription of Sāmantasimha, [Vikrama] Saṁvat 1345'.
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- XXIII. 'Jalor Stone Inscription of Sāmantasimhadeva, [Vikrama] Saṁvat 1353'.
- XXIV. 'Kot-Solankiya Inscription of Vanavīra, [Vikrama] Saṁvat 1394'.
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 39. 'Ghatiyala Inscriptions of Kakkuka, Saṃvat 918', *ibid.*, Vol. IX, 1907-[19]08, Art. No. 38, pp. 277-81.
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* [Edited on the basis of a manuscript of a work the name of which has been given as the *Citrakūṭadurge Mahāvīra-prāsāda-praśasti* in a list of Jain manuscripts. —Ed.]

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* A chart facing p. 493, a plate facing p. 508 and the portions (i) beginning with 'Before we are able properly to discuss...' of the second paragraph of p. 493 and ending in '...which subject I now proceed.' of p. 502 and (ii) beginning with 'whether the progenitor...' and ending in '...investigation in India.' of p. 514 of No. 35 are not found in No. 34.—Ed.]

** [Under the same title an article in Marathi by Bhandarkar appeared in the *Brihan-maharashtra Varshik*, 4th March, 1933, pp.1-4. The same periodical also incorporates his articles 'Bangali Bhashatil Maharashtra Puran' (1st November, 1929, pp. 9-11), 'Sri Chaitanyachi Pune jithyatil tirthayatra' (2nd November, 1930,

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pp. 4-7), 'Hindusamaj mul kote hota' (5th Chaitra, Śaka Era 1856 [1934], pp. 2-5). An article entitled 'Besnagar yethil Silalekh' was published by Bhandarkar in *Vividhajnana Vistar*, [Vol.] 41, [No.] 5, May, 1910, pp. 142-44 and another entitled 'Delhi Prachin Ani Arvachin' in *Masikmanoranjan*, [Vol. 17], Purvārdha, 5th December, 1911, pp. 152-71. V. B. Belsare, Librarian, Deccan College, Poona, deserves our thanks for supplying the details of publication of these articles at the request of N. B. Marathe, Secretary, Prof. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar Birth Centenary Celebration Committee, Calcutta. Bhandarkar's other articles in Marathi and his articles in other languages could not be incorporated in the 'Bibliography' in spite of our best efforts. His historical fiction entitled *Raja Kanhadadeva* (pp. ii and 122, Lakshminarayan Press, Bombay) first appeared, as Belsare informs, in the Marathi Weekly *Tutari*, 1, 12, 1927 onwards.—Ed.]

* [Cf. G (16) and notes below.—Ed.]

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 13. 'Notes on Ancient History of India'—(1) 'Pradyota and His Brother Kumārasena', (2) 'Kākavarṇa, son of Śiśunāga', *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. I, No. 1 (July), 1934, pp. 13-19.
 14. 'Notes on Ancient History of India'—(3) 'Śaka-Yavanam', *ibid.*, Vol. I, No. 2 (October), 1934, pp. 275-80.
 15. 'Notes on Ancient History of India'—(4) 'Mahendragiri, Ruler of Piṣṭapura', * *ibid.*, Vol. II, No. 4 (April), 1936, pp. 761-62.
 16. 'Notes on Ancient History of India'—(5) 'Meherauli Pillar Inscription of Candra', ** *ibid.*, Vol. III, No. 3 (January), 1937, pp. 511-13.
 17. 'Pārasika Dominion in Ancient India', *Ann. Bhan. Or. Res. Ins.*, Vol. VIII, Part I, April, 1926, pp. 133-41.
 18. 'Pārasikas', *M. P. Khareghat Memorial Volume*, [Part] I (A Symposium on Indo-Iranian and Allied Subjects), Bombay, 1953, pp. 196-203.
 19. 'Slow Progress of Islam Power in Ancient India', *** *Proceedings*

* [Only the last paragraph of this article is not seen in No. 11 above. Otherwise the two are same.—Ed.]

** [Same as C(3) above, excepting the addition of a few words in line 16 of C (3).—Ed.]

*** [Although this one and No. 20 below have the same title and deal with the same topic, the two are different articles, the second one being more comprehensive.—Ed.]

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- and Transactions of the Fourth Oriental Conference* (Allahabad University, 1926), Vol. II, Allahabad, 1928, pp. 753-65.
20. 'Slow Progress of Islam Power in Ancient India' (as 'Indian Studies', No. 1), *Ann. Bhan. Or. Res. Ins.*, Part I, Vol. X, Parts I-II, April, 1929, pp. 25-44 ; Part II, Vol. XI, Part II, January, 1930, pp. 128-48.
 21. 'Vikrama Era', * *Commemorative Essays Presented to Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar*, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1917, pp. 187-94.
 22. 'Vikrama Samvat, its Origin and Nomenclature in Different Periods', *Vikrama Volume*, Ujjain, 1948, pp. 57-69.
 23. 'The Years called Kṛta, or the Origin of the Vikrama Era' (as XXI of 'Epigraphic Notes and Questions'), *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXI, 1932, pp. 101-03.

H. PRESIDENTIAL AND OTHER ADDRESSES **

1. 'An Address on Hindu Culture' (Delivered before the Calcutta University Cultural Association on Wednesday, the 8th March, 1933), *The Calcutta Review*, Third Series, Vol. XLVIII, September, 1933, pp. 291-99.
2. 'An Appreciation of the Early Life of Buddha' (Speech Delivered on the 23rd May, 1929, in the Hall of the Mahabodhi Society, Calcutta), *ibid.*, Third Series, Vol. XXXII, July-September, 1929, pp. 82-94.
3. 'Importance of the Study of the Ancient History of India' (Lecture Delivered on the 3rd April, 1924, before the Historical Association of the Dacca University), *ibid.*, Third Series, Vol. XI, April-June, 1924, pp. 376-93.
4. 'Old Varendra and Necessity of Excavation' (Lecture Delivered at Rajshahi on the 6th April, 1923), *ibid.*, Third Series, June, 1923, pp. 447-62.

* [Although this one and No. 22 below deal with the same topic, there is difference in the treatment of the two.—Ed.]

** [For his Carmichael Lectures First, Second and Third Series, delivered at the Calcutta University, Manindra Chandra Nandi Lectures at the Banaras Hindu University and Sir William Meyer Lectures at the Madras University, see I above.—Ed.]



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5. 'Presidential Address, Indian Cultural Conference, Calcutta, 1936', Indian Research Institute, Calcutta, 1936, pp. 1-17.
6. 'Presidential Address to the Second (Allahabad) Session of the Indian History Congress (held in October, 1938)', * *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Allahabad, 1938, pp. 9-21.

I. RELIGIOUS HISTORY AND ALLIED TOPICS

1. 'Ājīvikas' (as II of 'Epigraphic Notes and Questions'), *Journ. Bomb. Bra. Roy. As. Soc.*, Vol. XXI, (Communicated in June 1902), 1903, Art. No. XII, pp. 399-405.
2. 'Ājīvikas', *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLI, 1912, pp. 286-90 ; p. 296.
3. 'Aśvamedha by Samudragupta', *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. I, Part I, 1934, pp. 115-18.
4. 'Brahmanic Revival', *A Volume of Eastern and Indian Studies Presented to Professor F. W. Thomas*, Bombay, 1939, pp. 29-30.
5. 'Can we Fix the Date of Śaṅkarācārya more Accurately?', *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLI, 1912, p. 200.
6. 'Essence of Indian Culture', *Bhārata Kaumudī* (Studies in Indology in honour of Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji), Part I, Allahabad, 1945, pp. 121-25.
7. 'Is Re-Conversion to Hinduism Permissible?', *The Calcutta Review*, Third Series, Vol. XLIX, October, 1933, pp. 33-39.
8. 'Lakulīṣa', *Arch. Surv. Ind., Ann. Rep.*, 1906-07, pp. 179-92.
9. 'The Origin of the Bhakti School', *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLI, 1912, pp. 13-15.
10. 'Was there any Vaiṣṇava Sect in existence in the Gupta Period?', *Ind. Clut.*, Vol. XV (B. M. Barua Commemoration Volume), Nos. 1-4, July 1948—July 1949, pp. 4-5.

J. REPORTS

1. [Ancient Remains in the Districts of Barishal and Sambalpur],

* [Bhandarkar also presided over the Archaeology Section of the First Oriental Conference, Poona (held on the 5th, 6th and 7th November, 1919). He was also a Member of the Executive Board and Working Committee for the said Conference.—Ed.]

- Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey, Eastern Circle, For 1905-1906, Calcutta, March, 1907, pp. 15-17.*
2. 'Progress Report of the Assistant Archaeological Surveyor', *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of Western India For the Year ending 30th June, 1905, pp. 45-64.*
 3. 'Progress Report of the Assistant Superintendent' *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, For the months July 1905 to March 1906 inclusive, pp. 35-55 ; For the Year ending 31st March, 1907, pp. 24-43 ; For the Year ending 31st March, 1908, pp. 34-59 ; For the Year ending 31st March, 1909, pp. 36-58 ; For the Year ending 31st March, 1910, pp. 43-63 ; For the Year ending 31st March, 1911, pp. 35-45.*
 4. [Progress Report of the Superintendent], *ibid., For the Year ending 31st March, 1912, Part I, pp. 1-19 ; Part II, pp. 52-58 ; For the Year ending 31st March, 1913, Part I, pp. 1-14 ; Part II, pp. 54-59 ; For the Year ending 31st March, 1914, Part I, pp. 1-11 ; Part II, pp. 60-72 ; For the Year ending 31st March, 1915, Bombay, 1915, Part I, pp. 1-15 ; Part II, pp. 59-70 ; For the Year ending 31st March, 1916, Bombay 1916, Part I, pp. 1-12 ; Part II, pp. 49-60 ; For the Year ending 31st March, 1917, Bombay 1918, Part I, pp. 1-9 ; Part II, pp. 47-51.*

K. REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES

1. *Ajanta : The Colour and Monochrome Reproductions of the Ajanta Frescoes based on Photography with an Explanatory Text by G. Yazdani and an Appendix on Inscriptions by John Allan, Ind. Cult., Vol. I, 1934-35, pp. 135-36.*
2. *Ajmer : Historical and Descriptive by Har Vilas Sarda, Ind. Ant., Vol. XLI, 1912, pp. 182-83.*
3. *The Archaeology of Gujarat by Hasmukh D. Sankalia, Ind. Cult., Vol. VII, 1940-41, pp. 495-96.*
4. *The Decline and Fall of the Hindus by S. B. Mookerjee, Ind. Ant., Vol. LI, 1922, p. 204.*
5. *Early History of Kāmarūpa by Rai K. L. Barua Bahadur, Ind. Cult., Vol. I, 1934-35, pp. 136-37.*
6. *Glories of Marwar and the Glorious Rāthods by Mahamahopadhyay*

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- Pandit Bisheswar Nath Reu, *ibid.*, Vol. IX, Nos. 2 and 3, October 1942—March 1943, pp. 190-91.
7. *Grantha Pradarśanī* (Nos. 34-39), ed. S. P. V. Ranganathasvami Aryavaraguru, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLII, 1913, p. 208.
 8. *Hindu Administrative Institutions in South India* by Rao Bahadur S. K. Aiyangar, *ibid.*, Vol. LXII, 1933, p. 100.
 9. *History of Orissa*, Vols. I-II, by R. D. Banerji, *ibid.*, Vol. LXI, 1932, pp. 240-42.
 10. *History of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas* (Rāṭhoḍs) by Pandit Bisheshwar Nath Reu, *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. I, 1934-35, pp. 532-33.
 11. *Kālidāser Pākhī : with an Appendix on the List of Birds mentioned by Kālidāsa and an Index* by Satya Churn Law, *ibid.*, Vol. I, 1934-35, pp. 315-16.
 12. *Kaulajñāna Nirṇaya and Some Minor Texts of the School of Matsyendranātha* by Prabodh Chandra Bagchi, *ibid.*, Vol. I, 1934-35, pp. 723-24.
 13. *Mahārāṇā Kumbha : Sovereign, Soldier, Scholar* by Har Vilas Sarda, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXII, 1933, p. 200.
 14. *Marwar Ka Itihas*, Part I, by Pandit Bisheshwar Nath Reu, *Ind. Cult.*, Vol VI, 1939-40, p. 255.
 15. *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana* (*Amarakoṣa*) of Amarasiṃha by Krishnaji Govind Oka, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol., XLI, 1912, pp. 15-16.
 16. *A Souvenir of the Silver Jubilee Celebration of the Department for the Publication of Oriental Manuscripts, Trivandrum*, *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. I, 1934-35, pp. 536-38.
 17. *Tyāgarāja Bhagavān Gotama Buddha* by Ramchandra Govinda Kolangade and Kesav Appa Padhye, *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. XII, No. 3, January-March, 1946, p. 179.

K. SOCIAL HISTORY

1. 'The Antiquity of the Kanarese Practice of taking simply the Names of Places as Surnames', *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLI, 1912, p. 72.
2. 'Can Women Perform Śrauta Sacrifices of their own accord?',* *B.*

* [A comparative study of this one and No. 7 below shows that although the two are

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- C. Law Volume*, Part I, 1945, pp. 159-63.
3. 'Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population', *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL, 1911, pp. 7-37 and p. 180. Partly reprinted in *Journ. Anc. Ind. Hist.*, Vol. I, Parts 1-2, 1967-68, pp. 267-328. Also reprinted separately with an Index by the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, University of Calcutta, 1968.
 4. 'Guhilots', *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, New Series, Vol. V, No. 18, 1909, pp. 167-87.
 5. 'Gurjaras', *Journ. Bomb. Bra. Roy. As. Soc.*, Vol. XXI, (Read on November 13, 1902), 1903, Art. No. XIII, pp. 413-33.
 6. 'The Nāgar Brāhmaṇas and the Bengal Kāyasthas' (as 'Indian Studies, No. 3), *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXI, 1932, March, pp. 41-55 ; April, pp. 61-72.
 7. 'Were Women entitled to Perform Śrauta Sacrifices ?', *Proceedings and Transactions of the All India Oriental Conference*, Twelfth Session (Banaras Hindu University, 1943-44), Vol. II, Banaras Hindu University, 1946, pp. 345-48.

almost the same some twenty-four lines noticeable after the eighteenth line of the first paragraph of No. 7 are not found in No. 2, at the end of the last paragraph of which are added some five new lines and two pages.—Ed.]

(4)

CENTENARY CELEBRATIONS

REPORT ¹

N. B. MARATHE

THE MAHARASHTRA NIVAS TRUST and the Maharashtra Mandal of Calcutta having first proposed to celebrate the Birth Centenary of the great Indologist Devadatta Ramkrishna Bhandarkar (1875-1950), sometime in March-April, 1975, a Committee under the name **Professor Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar Birth Centenary Celebration Committee, Calcutta**, was formed with the great historian Dr. R. C. Majumdar as its President and having as its members * some of Professor Bhandarkar's illustrious students, certain Maharashtrian settlers of Calcutta and some teachers of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University

(i)

To perpetuate in a befitting manner the memory of the late Professor, the Committee has undertaken certain short-term and long-term programmes. Of the short-term programmes, the first was to request different learned institutions in and outside Calcutta to organise on the occasion lectures and symposiums on the late Professor and his works.

At the request of the Committee, the Inaugural Function of the Centenary Celebrations was arranged by the Maharashtra Mandal and Maharashtra Nivas Trust, Calcutta, on the 18th November, 1975. Sri Sankar Prasad Mitra, Chief Justice, Calcutta High Court, graced the occasion as the Chief Guest and he formally inaugurated the Celebrations by lighting one hundred lamps fixed on a brass-stand placed at the dais of the Tilak Hall of the Maharashtra Nivas, Calcutta. In his address,** Justice Mitra paid tributes to the late Professor in the highest terms and made some suggestions helpful in perpetuating best his memory. After the speech of Justice Mitra, Dr. K. K. Ganguli, the then Bageswari Professor and Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University, spoke on 'D. R. Bhandarkar as a Teacher'

1 Till 19. 11. 1978.

* [For their names, see p. 118 below.—Ed.]

** [See below, p. 119.—Ed.]

and Dr. Samaresh Bandyopadhyay, the then Lecturer and now Reader in the same Department, on the late Professor's 'Numismatic Contributions'.

At the same meeting, the Maharashtra Mandal accorded reception to such successful students of the late Professor as Professor S. K. Saraswati, the then President of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, Professor D. C. Sircar (Formerly Carmichael Professor and Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University) and Professor K. K. Ganguli. Dr. Samaresh Bandyopadhyay was also accorded reception for his significant contributions to Indian numismatics, one of the most favourite subjects of study of the late Professor. Professor C. D. Chatterjee (Formerly Professor and Head of the Department of Ancient Indian Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, Lucknow and Gorakhpur Universities) and Prof. N. R. Ray (Emeritus Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture, University of Calcutta), two other successful students of the late Professor, were also to be honoured, but they could not attend the meeting.

A function on the occasion of the Birth Centenary was organised by the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, University of Calcutta, on Wednesday, the 19th November, 1975, at the Departmental Building. At this largely attended function, Professor C. D. Chatterjee was the Chief Guest and in his speech he focussed on the 'Epigraphic Contributions of Professor Bhandarkar' and also on the ever-inspiring trait in his character. Professor S. K. Saraswati mentioned about his contacts with Professor Bhandarkar and Professor D. C. Sircar recalled long hours spent by him everyday at Bhandarkar's library and how Professor Bhandarkar used to train him in epigraphy.* Another student of Professor Bhandarkar, Dr. A. K. Sur (Editor, *The Business Standard*), spoke on the late Professor's contributions to the study of social and administrative history and on his sympathy and love for students.** The author of this report also had the chance to offer his tribute to the late Professor and say a few words about the plans and programmes of the Committee.

* [See pp. 39-40 above.—Ed.]

** [See pp. 61-64 above.—Ed.]

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In connection with the observation of the Birth Centenary, the Council of the Asiatic Society adopted certain resolutions at its meeting on September 11, 1975, and the Society organised on the occasion a programme of two-days' duration which was inaugurated by Professor S. K. Saraswati on November 19, 1975, at 5-15 P.M. Sri Madhukar Rao Chaudhuri, the then Finance Minister of the Government of Maharashtra, kindly made it convenient to grace the occasion by his presence as a Guest of Honour of the Committee and, after the inauguration, he paid his tribute to the late Professor and expressed satisfaction at the Committee's programme for the Centenary Celebrations. The first day's programme also included an interesting lecture by Professor D. C. Sircar on 'Devdatta * Ramkrishna Bhandarkar—His Career and Contribution to Indological Studies' which the Society published in a small brochure brought out by the Society under the supervision of Dr. Samaresh Bandyopadhyay. In his speech, the Chief Guest Dr. P. C. Gupta, Vice-Chancellor, Rabindra Bharati University, briefly referred to the impact of Professor Bhandarkar's writings on later historians and Professor C. D. Chatterjee in his presidential address discussed at some length Professor Bhandarkar's success as a teacher and scholar, particularly referring to some of his valuable contributions to Sanskrit literature, Indian sculpture and Jain iconography.

The second day's meeting of the Society was presided over by Professor S. K. Saraswati. Professor C. D. Chatterjee** and Professor D. C. Sircar paid their tributes to the late Professor and remembered their intimate association with him for a long time. On behalf of the Committee, the author of these lines also paid tribute to the great Professor.

At the request of the Committee, the National Library, Calcutta, and the Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture, Calcutta, arranged lectures on the late Professor on the 4th December, 1975, and the 19th February, 1976, respectively.

At the meeting of the National Library, 'Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar Birth Centenary Commemorative Address' was given by Sri M. N.

* [Read.—'Devadatta'.—Ed.]

** [See pp. 47-50 above.—Ed.]



Deshpande, Director General, Archaeological Survey of India. In his address, Sri Deshpande referred to the many-sided contribution of the late Professor to Indology, particularly to Indian archaeology. He also made the announcement that the Archaeological Survey of India had thought it best to pay tribute to that great scholar by conceding to the request of the Committee to undertake without any further delay the long neglected work of publication of Professor Bhandarkar's edition of Fleet's *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III. Professor Niharranjan Ray presiding over the meeting spoke about his close connection with the late Professor and also made reference to the great esteem in which Professor Bhandarkar was held by one and all coming in touch with him.

At the meeting organised by the Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture, Calcutta, Professor K. K. Ganguli spoke on Professor D. R. Bhandarkar : His Contributions to Ancient Indian History and Culture and, while paying tribute, he narrated how Professor Bhandarkar was instrumental in allowing Professor Ganguli * to get himself admitted into the M. A. class in Ancient Indian History and Culture, University of Calcutta. The meeting was presided over by the writer of this report.

Outside Calcutta also lectures were arranged, sometimes at the request of the Committee, in places like Poona, Sagar, Delhi, Ujjain etc., and many stations of All India Radio and Television Centres also arranged lectures on Professor Bhandarkar.

A short discourse on 'D. R. Bhandarkar—Scholar, Teacher and the Man' by Professor D. C. Sircar was also arranged at the Closing Ceremony of the Centenary Celebrations organised at the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University, on the 22nd February, 1977, at 4 p.m., under the auspices of the said Department and the Committee. The Closing Ceremony was inaugurated by Dr. S. N. Sen (formerly Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University)** and presided over by Dr. S. K. Mukherjee*** Vice-Chancellor of the University of Calcutta. Sri Arun Ray, Pro-Vice-Chancellor for Business Affairs and Finance, Calcutta University, graced the occasion by his

* [See pp. 77-78 above.—Ed.]

** [See below, pp. 120-21, for his address.—Ed.]

*** [See below, pp. 123-24, for his address. Dr. Mukherjee retired on 31.12.1978.—Ed.]

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presence as the Guest-in-Chief. * Sri Mohankumar Mookerjee, formerly a Sheriff of Calcutta and a student of Professor Bhandarkar also paid tribute to his teacher and promised a donation of Rs. 1000/—to the Committee.

Besides requesting the Archaeological Survey of India to expedite the publication of Professor Bhandarkar's edition of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, mentioned above, the Committee also requested the Editor of the *Journal of Ancient Indian History* to dedicate the eighth Volume of the said *Journal* to Professor Bhandarkar and designate the ninth volume of the said *Journal* as 'Bhandarkar Centenary Number'. Request of the Committee was readily complied with and both the Volumes were released at the Closing Ceremony of the Centenary Celebrations, referred to above. Request was also made to the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, to dedicate its *Journal* for 1975 to Professor Bhandarkar and the Council of the Society adopted a resolution conceding to the Committee's request at its meeting of September 11, 1975. Nothing in this regard, however, is mentioned in the *Journal* for 1975 that has come out. Therefore, attention of the Society has been drawn again in this respect.

The Committee, as one of its programmes of short duration, also arranged for the presentation of Professor Bhandarkar's photographs to different learned institutions and, accordingly, photographs in well-bounded frames, were presented to the (i) Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, University of Calcutta, (ii) The Asiatic Society, Calcutta, (iii) National Library, Calcutta, and the (iv) University of Poona. At the Closing Ceremony of the Centenary Celebrations, the (v) University of Calcutta was also presented with another photograph for its Teachers' Room which was without any such so far. It must, however, be mentioned that this programme of the Committee would never have materialised, had not the Maharashtra Nivas Trust, Calcutta, come forward spontaneously with the entire fund needed for the purpose. In fact, apart from making the fund available, the Trust, particularly its President Sri J. V. Divekar, also took great care to have the photographs ready well in advance so that ceremonious presentation of them could be made to the different institutions on the day on which each of them had their programme of Centenary Celebrations.

* [For his address, see p. 122 below.—Ed.]

(ii)

The Committee is well aware of the fact that the Centenary Celebrations, with the sort of programmes mentioned above, can seldom have any permanent bearing and, therefore, it has undertaken certain other programmes. Of these, mention must first be made of the decision to publish, in memory of the late Professor, a volume having two parts, the first devoted to Professor Bhandarkar and the second to research papers on Indology. Edited by an eminent scholar, Dr. Samarendra Bandyopadhyay, the volume will be a publication of the University of Calcutta which, at the request of the Committee, has opened for the purpose a separate fund entitled 'D. R. Bhandarkar Birth Centenary Volume Fund'. With the same fund the Committee has deposited a sum of Rs. 5,500/—(Rupees Five thousand five hundred) only (Rs. 5000/—being received by it as donation from the Maharashtra Nivas Trust, Calcutta, and 500/—from the Pune University) and the University of Calcutta (its contribution of) Rs. 15000/—(Rupees fifteen Thousand) only.

It has also been decided by the Committee to make efforts to create a post of professor in the name of Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar in the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, University of Calcutta, and accordingly, the Committee, on its behalf, got an appeal for donations issued in September, 1976, over the signature of Dr. S. N. Sen, the then Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University. When donations started to come in (the Maharashtra Government making a donation of Rs. 50,000/—, the Sahu Jain Charitable Society Rs. 2500/—, the Dhanuka Education and Welfare Trust Rs. 500/— etc.), at the request of Committee, the University of Calcutta opened a separate fund called 'Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar Birth Centenary Professorship Fund' with which the entire amount has been deposited by the Committee.

Subsequently, at the request of the Committee, Dr. S. K. Mukherjee, Vice-Chancellor, University of Calcutta, has kindly written to Professor Satis Chandra, Chairman, University Grants Commission, stressing upon the need for creating the said post of professor and requested for a matching grant needed for the purpose. Professor Chandra, in his reply, has graciously suggested that it might be better for the Calcutta University to approach the University Grants Commission and make out a separate case for the institution of the said post of professor

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Inauguration (18.11.1975) of the Centenary Celebrations by Sri Sankarprasad Mitra, Chief Justice, Calcutta High Court (pp. 111 and 119).
Sitting (L to R) : Sm. Vasanti Relwani (daughter of D. R. Bhandarkar) and Sri J. V. Divekar (President, Maharashtra Nivas Trust, Calcutta).



Sri N. B. Marathe, Secretary, D. R. Bhandarkar Birth Centenary Celebration Committee, Calcutta, delivers (18.11.1975) the Welcome Address at the Inaugural Function (pp. 111-12).

ĀCĀRYA-VANDANĀ : D. R. BHANDARKAR BIRTH CENTENARY VOLUME



Professor C. D. Chatterjee delivers the Chief Guest's Address (19.11.1975) at the function of the A. I. H. C. Department, Calcutta University (p. 112).

Sitting (L to R) : Professor K. K. Ganguli and Sm. Nalini Joshi,
 President of the Maharashtra Mandal, Calcutta.
 Standing (behind)—Dr. Samaresh Bandyopadhyay



Presentation (19.11.1975) of the portrait of Bhandarkar to the President of the Asiatic Society, Professor S. K. Saraswati, by Sm. Nalini Joshi at the function of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta (pp. 113 and 115).

Standing (behind)—Dr. Samaresh Bandyopadhyay

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Dr. S. N. Sen (left), Formerly Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University, inaugurates (22.9.1977) the Closing Ceremony of the Centenary Celebrations (pp. 120-21).



Sri J. V. Divekar (left), President, Maharashtra Nivas Trust, Calcutta, presents (22.2.1977) the portrait of Bhandarkar to the Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University, Dr. S. K. Mukherjee (p. 115).

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Dr. Samaresh Bandyopadhyay hands over (22.2.1977) the cheques to Dr. S. K. Mukherjee (Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University) for the creation of the post 'D. R. Bhandarkar Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture' at the function of the A. I. H. C. Department, Calcutta University (p. 116).



Dr. S. K. Mukherjee (Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University) delivers (22. 2.1977) the Presidential Address at the Closing Ceremony of the Centenary Celebrations (pp. 114 and 123f.)

Sitting (L to R) : Professor B. N. Mukherjee, Sri J. V. Divekar, Professor K. K. Ganguli, Dr. S. N. Sen, Professor D. C. Sircar, Sri Arun Ray (Pro-Vice-Chancellor for Finance, Calcutta University) and Dr. S. P. Banerjee (Registrar, Calcutta University).

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and that the fund raised be utilised to endow a series of lectures or to institute a research fellowship.

The Calcutta University Council at its meeting held on 27.4.1978 considered Professor Chandra's letter and the Committee's proposal to institute the said post of professor and unanimously resolved that the said professorship be instituted, and, accordingly, the Calcutta University has again written to the University Grants Commission for sympathetic consideration of the case at an early date and the Commission's decision in this regard is eagerly awaited by the University and the Committee.

The Committee also has the plan to make available to the students of the subject the published writings of Professor Bhandarkar in a collected form. This is indeed a difficult task and it can't materialise but for a bibliography of Professor Bhandarkar's published writings. However, in view of the fact that Dr. Samarendra Bandyopadhyay with the assistance of his student Sri Korakkumar Chaudhuri, a Junior Research Fellow at the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, University of Calcutta, is putting up untiring energy to include a bibliography * of the late Professor's published writings in the projected volume, the task will become easier. It will be much more easy if the fund, raised by the Committee and deposited by it with the University of Calcutta, as mentioned above, stands unutilised, the University Grants Commission providing the necessary grant for the creation of the said post of professor in the name of Professor Bhandarkar, and the same fund can be utilised in bringing out the collected works of Professor Bhandarkar. However, a serious consideration of this plan by the Committee will be possible when the projected volume is out and the said post of professor instituted in the University of Calcutta.

* [See pp. 89-108 above.—Ed.]



**PROFESSOR DR. DEVADATTA RAMKRISHNA BHANDARKAR
BIRTH CENTENARY CELEBRATION COMMITTEE
CALCUTTA**

PRESIDENT

Professor Dr. R. C. Majumdar

Formerly Professor of History and Vice-Chancellor, Dacca University.

SECRETARY

Sri N. B. Marathe

Vice-President, Maharashtra Mandal, Calcutta.

MEMBERS

Professor C. D. Chatterjee

Formerly Professor and Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, Lucknow and Gorakhpur Universities.

Dr. Gaurinath Sastri

President, The Asiatic Society, Calcutta, and formerly Vice-Chancellor, Sanskrit University, Varanasi.

Professor Dr. N. R. Ray

Emeritus Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture, University of Calcutta.

Professor Dr. B. N. Mukherjee

Carmichael Professor and Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University.

Professor S. K. Saraswati

Formerly President, The Asiatic Society, Calcutta.

Dr. Samaresh Bandyopadhyay

Reader, Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, University of Calcutta, and Editor, D. R. Bhandarkar Birth Centenary Volume.

Professor Dr. D. C. Sircar

Formerly Carmichael Professor and Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University.

Sri R. M. Relwani

Reputed Journalist (Retired), Calcutta.

Sri J. V. Divekar

President, Maharashtra Nivas Trust, Calcutta.

Professor Dr. K. K. Ganguli

Formerly Bageswari Professor and Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University.

Smt. Smita Kirtikar

President, Maharashtra Mandal, Calcutta.

ADDRESS OF THE CHIEF GUEST *

SANKAR PRASAD MITRA

ACADEMICIANS ARE SELDOM REMEMBERED now-a-days and the Prof. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar Birth Centenary Celebration Committee, Calcutta, deserves our high praise for organising the Centenary Celebrations of one of the greatest educationists of our country. Prof. Bhandarkar's success as a scholar is amply demonstrated by the great demand of the valuable books left by him for the posterity and his success as a teacher by the large number of his disciples who now shine like brightest luminaries by their own contributions to the society at large.

The objectives with which the Committee has been set up will no doubt help in remembering the late Professor. A commemorative volume focussing on the different fields of his activity and edited carefully by a scholar whole-heartedly devoted to the subject will serve the purpose well. There can't be also any question regarding the justification of a post of professor in his name in the same Department of the Calcutta University which he served for twenty years. To me, the most important plan, however, seems to be to make attempt to bring out his works in collected form ; for, this will facilitate further study and assessment of the past history and culture of our country which is so very important at this critical juncture of our national life.

All these programmes can only materialise if the patronisation and funds are forthcoming from all corners, particularly the Central and State Governments, the University Grants Commission, the Indian Council of Historical Research, etc., and, in inaugurating with great pleasure the Centenary Celebrations, I would express the hope and belief in my mind that the Committee, under the guidance of its President Dr. R. C. Majumdar and with the active co-operation of its sincere and devoted members, many of whom are students of the late Professor, will certainly get its due everywhere and be able to achieve all that it intends to.

* [Delivered at the 'Inaugural Function' of the Centenary Celebrations held on 18. 11. 1975.—Ed.]

INAUGURAL ADDRESS *

S. N. SEN

IN 1929, WHEN I JOINED the post-graduate classes as a student in the Department of Economics, University of Calcutta, Prof. Bhandarkar was serving as the Carmichael Professor in the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture. At that time both these Departments were housed in the Asutosh Building and we had a good opportunity of knowing Prof. Bhandarkar, of course from a distance as also from my friends who were his students. He was already well-known as a reputed scholar and a very good teacher, much talked of by his students and others. We, who belonged to other subjects, always showed great respect to him as also to Prof. Radhakrishnan and Prof. J. C. Coyajee. Prof. Coyajee was in the Presidency College, but he also served as a Part-time teacher in our Department. Whenever any one of them was seen in one of the corridors of the Asutosh Building, as he was coming out of or going to one of his classes, all talk among us ceased and we stood respectfully as near as possible to the walls so that the great Professor found no difficulty in moving about. I remember that Prof. Bhandarkar usually nodded and smiled to us, while Prof. Radhakrishnan walked rather absent-mindedly, possibly absorbed in some intricate philosophical problems.

As one thinks of these distinguished teachers, one is naturally reminded of those glorious days of our University. Now-a-days how many of us know that the first Whole-time Professor in Calcutta University was Prof. Monoharlal, who was from the Punjab and who later went back to his province where he subsequently rose to be a minister in the provincial government. Prof. Monoharlal was the First Minto Professor of Economics and he probably had the distinction of being the first scholar to become a Professor in any Indian University. In 1914, three years before all post-graduate teaching was centralised at

* [Delivered at the 'Closing Ceremony' of the Centenary Celebrations held on 22. 2. 1977.—Ed.]

the University headquarters, Sir Asutosh had succeeded in creating and filling up ten posts of Professors of whom only three were from Bengal—Prof. Brajendranath Seal in Philosophy, Prof. P. C. Mitter in Chemistry and Prof. D. M. Bose in Physics. The other seven Professors coming from outside Bengal were Prof. C. J. Hamilton (Economics), Prof. W. H. Young (Mathematics), Prof. G. Thibaut (AIHC), Prof. Ganesh Prasad (Applied Mathematics), Prof. S. P. Agharkar (Botany), Prof. R. Knox (English) and Prof. Otto Straus (Comparative Philology). By 1917, when centralised post-graduate teaching began, the number of Professors had risen to 12 with the addition of *Ācārya* Prafulla Chandra Ray, who joined in 1916, and Prof. C. V. Raman who joined in 1917. Prof. Bhandarkar also joined in 1917 in the place of Prof. Thibaut. Thus among 12 Professors, only four were from Bengal and the remaining eight were from outside Bengal. Today, in honouring Prof. Bhandarkar, we would also like to pay our humble respects to all these distinguished scholars who had come from distant places and universities to Calcutta and who made such important contributions to our University and helped in building it up as a great institution of learning.

Sir Asutosh had built up this great tradition for this University and he welcomed talents from every corner of the world in the selection of teachers of this University, and I hope that there will be no departure from this noble tradition. Because of this very wise decision, we had the good fortune to have Prof. Bhandarkar from the beginning of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture. He joined in 1917 and continued to guide and inspire teaching and research in the Department for nearly two decades. When he left, the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture had established a great name for its research activities in the world of scholars. All this has been due to a large extent to his character, drive, initiative and scholarship. In honouring the memory of Prof. Bhandarkar today, we are paying our homage to the noblest traditions of Indian scholarship. May those traditions endure among us in all universities and enrich the store of knowledge of the world !

ADDRESS OF THE GUEST-IN-CHIEF *

ARUN RAY

Professor Devadatta Ramkrishna Bhandarkar needs no introduction or words of praise. His name has been held in admiring esteem by the academic community. The great educationist dedicated himself to the cause of the promotion of Indological studies and the University of Calcutta had the privilege of having his valuable services for long twenty years. As is well known, under the fostering care of Professor Bhandarkar, the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture of our University emerged as the pioneering centre of post-graduate teaching and research in the subject. In fact, it was he who had set up a tradition of scholarship and infused in successive generation of teachers and students the spirit of research of very high standard. This is certainly a reason why, even long twenty-eight years after Professor Bhandarkar's retirement, the said Department of our University was chosen, in 1964, for functioning as a Centre of Advanced Study in Ancient Indian History and Culture by the University Grants Commission. It is indeed a signal honour for which the credit goes to the great departed teacher.

The academic world cannot forget the debt they owe to this great man and it is no wonder that such a dynamic personality is being remembered on the occasion of his Birth Centenary and, while paying my humble tribute to the late *Ācārya*, I believe that the Centenary Celebration Committee's plans and programmes, all of which will have great bearings in future, are going to materialise soon and hope that an example will be set as to how best the memory of such great savants should be perpetuated.

* [Delivered at the 'Closing Ceremony' of the Centenary Celebrations held on 22. 2. 1977, —Ed.]

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS *

S. K. MUKHERJEE

PROFESSOR DR. D. R. BHANDARKAR is being remembered on the occasion of his Birth Centenary for his many original contributions in the field of Indology, particularly in Indian archaeology, epigraphy, history and numismatics. He is the kind of scholar any university is proud of ; he is the kind of thinker who brings glory to the institution he belongs to ; he is the kind of teacher and researcher who inspires students for the advancement of knowledge and learning.

When Sir Asutosh Mookerjee offered the post of Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture in 1917, Dr. Bhandarkar was already in the height of his reputation. Those who at that time doubted the decision of Sir Asutosh were completely convinced about its correctness after attending or reading his learned lectures. While conferring upon Professor Bhandarkar the honorary doctorate degree of the University of Calcutta Sir Asutosh said—‘He may rightly be regarded as the pathfinder in trackless regions of the boundless field of Indian antiquarian research, and this has enabled him to take unquestioned rank as an inspiring teacher’.**

By organising the Birth Centenary of Dr. Bhandarkar, the Celebration Committee has done a great service to the study of ancient Indian history by focussing, in particular, the contributions not only of the Professor but also of his large number of brilliant disciples whom he had initiated into this fascinating but hard-to-succeed field of research and a good many of whom have occupied front-ranking positions in different fields by their own contributions.

Centenary Celebrations, like this one, serve a certain kind of purpose, but not one of a permanent nature. The Centenary Volume incorporating a large number of illuminating research papers on different fields

* [Delivered at the ‘Closing Ceremony’ of the Centenary Celebrations held on 22.2. 1977, —Ed.]

** [See p. 21 above.—Ed.]

of activity of Prof. Bhandarkar and edited carefully by a competent scholar will no doubt be a record of his many achievements and of the reminiscences of his pupils and scholars who were associated with him and benefited by his valuable and inspiring teaching and research guidance. There is no doubt again that a post of professor in his name in our University, where he spent long twenty years and for the creation of which the Centenary Committee and the University are making efforts, will be a fitting tribute to his memory. But, in my opinion, a more fundamental manner of expressing our sense of gratitude and respect to that great savant would be to strive for the establishment of a national research institute dedicated to the cause of historical research for which he lived and which made him famous in the world of scholarship and erudition. The Centenary Celebration Committee's success in this direction would depend not only on the good will and co-operation of the public including the members of the family of Professor Bhandarkar and the Maharashtra settlers of Bengal but also on the generosity of the Central as well as the State governments. In this way would we perpetuate best the memory of one of the greatest scholars India has produced in recent times.

PART II

RESEARCH PAPERS ON INDOLOGY

BRAHMĀ'S ROLE AS A PROTECTOR

G. M. BAILEY

IN THE *MUNDAKA UPANIṢAD* occurs one of the few references in the Upaniṣads to the god, Brahmā.¹ Here the following is said of him :

'Brahmā arose as the first of the gods—

The maker of all, the protector of the world' (*bhuvanasya goptā*).

'He told the knowledge of Brahma, the foundation of all knowledge, To Atharva(n), his eldest son'.²

Furthermore, one passage occurring in two *Gṛhyasūtras* (*Āśv.*, II. 4. 14 ; *Par.*, III. 3. 6), containing invocations to various gods and beings for protection, instructs the sacrificer to say, 'protected (*adhigupta*) by Brahmā may I pour forth songs'.³ The epics and the *Purāṇas* reveal many associations that this god has with protection, and also as a figure with whom the gods seek refuge (*śaraṇam*) from danger. Although Hopkins in his book about epic mythology recognizes that Brahmā is a 'preserver', his explanations of this are very vague. He is content to specify only that 'day by day he makes the sun rise (*Mbh.*, III. 313. 46) and keeps daily guard over individuals as well as the course of nature'.⁴ Even Holtzmann in his exhaustive study of Brahmā in the *Mahābhārata* is too vague when he says, '*Dass die Götter in ihren Kämpfen mit den Asura Schutz und Rath bei Brahman such, ist wohl der älteste Zug in der epischen Geschichte dieses Gottes*'.⁵ The essay intends to show that Brahmā has, ever since his first appearances in the Upaniṣads, been regarded as a god

1 I. 1. 1-2. Other definite references to Brahmā in the Upaniṣads and the Brāhmaṇas are *Ch. U.*, VIII. 15; III. 11. 4; *Kauṣ. U.*, I. 5. 5; *Śvet. U.*, V. 6; VI. 18; *Maitrī. U.*, IV. 5; V. 1; VI. 5; *Gopatha Br.*, I. 1. 16; *Śank. Ā* (see A. B. Keith, *The Aitareya Aranyaka*, Oxford, 1969, p. 328).

2 Cf. R. E. Hume's Eng. tran. [2nd. Ed., London, 1931, p. 366.—Ed.]

3 Oldenberg's Eng. tran., *The Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 207, 345.

4 E. W. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology* (Delhi, 1974, 1st Ed., Strassburg, 1915), p. 193.

5 A. Holtzmann, 'Brahman im Mahābhārata', *ZDMG*, Vol. XXXVIII, 1884, p. 177. Cf. J. Gonda, *Die Religionen Indiens*, Vol. I, Stuttgart, 1960, p. 264. 'Wenn die Götter sich in Not oder Gefahr befinden, wenden sie sich an ihn um Rat'.

concerned very much with protection, in particular with the protection of the individual and his position and privileges in the brāhmaṇical society.

The word *goptṛ* and its cognate *gopā* occur nine times in the classical Upaniṣads (including the *Mahānārāyaṇa*) and several times in later Upaniṣads.¹ Usually translated as 'protector, preserver, *Beschützer*' in the case of *goptṛ* and 'watchman, *Hüter*' for *gopā*, the two words occur in conjunction with *bhuvana* in six of the nine occurrences.² In *Mu.U.*, I. 1. 1, *Brahmā* is *bhuvanasya goptā*, these exact words appearing also in *Śvet. U.*, IV. 15 ; VI. 17 and *Mahānār. U.*, V. 9 ; the other two—*bhuvanāni gopāḥ* appearing in *Ch. U.*, IV. 3. 6, and *Śvet. U.*, III. 2. The precise translation of both these words is difficult to determine, perhaps the idea being that the god to whom they refer is a herdsman of beings, and since the function of the herdsman is to protect, then this particular god is also a protector, either of the world or of beings since *bhuvana* can refer to either of these two meanings. This interpretation receives some support from one factor common to all occurrences of the two words, for the notion of the 'theistic' god as opposed to the impersonal *Brahman* is stressed in all of the passages in which they occur. The *Śvetāśvatara* passages exalt Rudra as the one god, while in the *Chāndogya* passages there is no name but *eko devaḥ* ; and in *Mahānār. U.*, XX. 14, Viṣṇu is the *gopā*. Certainly the picture of the one god in passages of the *Śvet. U.*, is of a god who both creates and absorbs everything into himself (IV. 1 ; III. 2), who is completely different to the living individual man (IV. 6-7), and who aids the individual who aspires to *mokṣa* through his (god's) *prasāda* (III. 20). Perhaps it is because this god favours beings with his *prasāda* that he is conceived also as a protector, protecting beings from continuous rebirth and ignorance. If there were more than this single reference in *Mu. U.*, I. 1. 1, it would be tempting to see

1 See G.A. Jacob, *A Concordance to the Principal Upaniṣads and the Bhagavad Gītā*, Bombay, 1891, p. 338.

2 According to Jacob's concordance *goptā* in the *Atharvaśiras U.*, IV, is also connected with *bhuvana*. For these particular translations, see M. Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit English Dictionary*, London, 1974, p. 368. The German translations are taken from R. Hauschild, 'Die Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad', *Abhandlungen für die Kunde Des Morgenlandes*, Bd. XVII, Leipzig, 1925-28, pp. 17, 27, 37 of his translation.

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Brahmā as a god of the type that appears in the *Śvet. U.*, for he also in the Upaniṣads is concerned with dissemination of knowledge to beings (*prajā*)—*Ch. U.*, VIII. 15 ; III. 11. 4 ; *Śvet. U.*, VI. 18. However, at least it can be said that Brahmā in this one particular text was regarded as a protector on a cosmic level, the precise significance of a protector remaining vague.

Both the epics contain abundant material about Brahmā, and it appears that in the interval between their composition and that of the classical Upaniṣads his protective functions were considerably expanded.¹ This expansion takes place in three areas ; firstly, he is concerned with the preservation of such structures of the orthodox view of Hindu society as kingship and the *varṇāśrama* system ; secondly, in the struggles between the *asuras* and *devas*, he sides with and protects the gods ; thirdly, he occasionally protects particular individuals from harm (e. g. Sītā from *rākṣasas*, *Mbh.*, III. 275. 32). While these may seem to be arbitrary divisions, the differences do become apparent after a close examination of the myths. The remainder of this essay will be concerned with the first area almost completely.

In this area it becomes clear that Brahmā in addition to creating the above mentioned institutions is concerned also with the preservation in society over time, of *dharma*, which he has established in society after creating the world (*Mbh.*, XII. 160. 21). With the presence of a just king and of the *varṇāśrama* system, the stage is attained at which each individual is performing his *svadharma*, and the ideal society from the *dharmic*, *arthic* and *karmic* standpoint is realised. This type of society which ensures the protection of the individual from all of the evils epitomised in descriptions of the kingless state, allows the performance of *svadharma* ; and is the society which Brahmā wishes to see in the world. A few myths will illustrate this point amply.

One such myth, commencing at *Mbh.*, XII. 59. 13ff., describes how the people in the Kṛtayuga lived in adherence to *dharma* until lassitude

1 The Pali Canon and the Gṛhyasūtras provide some type of time bridge between the old and middle Upaniṣads and the epic texts. But although Brahmā appears often in these texts, particularly in the former, they do not reflect a widening of his protective role.

fell amongst them causing confusion (*moha*) and agitation arising from strong desires (*lobha*) to affect them (17). Men began robbing one another and being so full of desire were unable to know the correct actions to perform, or what to eat or say ; these signs indicating that a general state of social anarchy prevailed. Finally (22) when the *vedas* and *dharma* had disappeared from the earth, the gods becoming afraid go to Brahmā seeking refuge (*śaraṇa*). They felt afraid because the people negligent of their *dharmic* duties were not conducting sacrifices, hence no nourishment was coming up to them. Brahmā told them to drop their fears saying that he would compose a book of one thousand topics whose subjects were grouped around *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* and *mokṣa* (28-30). On completing this book he said to the gods :

‘This efficacious knowledge which is the fresh butter of wisdom, (was composed) for the world’s benefit (*upakārāya lokasya*) and for the preservation of the three ways (*tri-varga-sthāpanāya*), because this doctrine of world-protection (*loka-rakṣaṇa*) is connected with punishment (*daṇḍa*), and being concerned with restraint and assistance it will be spread through the worlds. These (worlds) are guided by punishment, for punishment certainly guides ; thus this doctrine is called ‘the science of punishment’ and it pursues the three worlds.’¹

As a concession to human comprehension the treatise is abridged and the *adhyāya* finishes by relating the myth of Pṛthu, the ideal king. Brahmā’s aims are quite clear, he is determined to do more than just protect the gods from starvation ; he wishes also to protect beings in other worlds (*lokāḥ*) from the anarchic self-destructive social condition which arose at the end of the Kṛtayuga. By having an ordered society in which *daṇḍa* preserves and upholds the *catur-varga* as the legitimate aspiration for the individual, this protection can be achieved.

A further account of the origin of kingship in which Brahmā actually appoints a king for the people appears in *Mbh.*, XII. 67. 1ff. The first sixteen *ślokas* of this *adhyāya* are taken up with a description of the kingless society, using the *matsya-nyāya* notion for illustration. When complete social disintegration has occurred a group of people join together determined to change the situation :

1 *Mbh.*, XII. 59. 76-78. (All references to the *Mbh.* are from the Poona Critical Edition).

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'So some who were unhappy went together to the Greatfather (*pitāmaha*) and said, "Without lords we will perish. O Illustrious One, assign to us a Lord who would protect (*paripālayet*) us and we together would honour him." He appointed Manu for them, but Manu did not salute them...' ¹

After the people agree to supply him with corn and grain Manu assents to becoming their king. Here kingship is strongly emphasised because it is the king who has to protect and uphold the structures of society from decay. Although one might think, from this myth and others, that Brahmā is concerned primarily with kingship and only secondarily with protection of society, the following passage from the *Matsya Purāṇa* ² shows that the reverse is true :

'A king is created by Brahmā for the preservation of all the beings, for awarding to the *devas* their respective shares of sacrificial oblations and for inflicting proper punishment on the guilty'.

Without entering into copious detail a few passages may be presented which demonstrate the very close connection that Brahmā has with *daṇḍa* (which I here translate as 'punishment'), and the significance that this has for his protective role. We have seen already (*Mbh.*, XII. 59. 78) that he praised the use of *daṇḍa* as an instrument for regulating society, and, in a group of texts whose main subject is *daṇḍa*, it was said to be produced by him for the protection of the world (*loka-rakṣā-rtham*) and for maintaining the conditions for the performance of *svadharma* (*Mbh.*, XII. 121. 48). The same *adhyāya* posits some general equations between *daṇḍa* and some closely related concepts :

'Vyavahāra is the protector of creatures (*prajā-goptā*) as pointed out by Brahmā. O Yudhiṣṭhira, it upholds the three worlds and truly is the heart of truth and the increaser of wealth. And what

1 *Mbh.*, XII. 67. 20-21. Although *pitāmaha* is usually translated as 'grandfather' there is in Brahmā's case considerable justification to regard the word's exact meaning as 'Great Father', i.e. as an intensification of the fatherhood ideal. This is not to say that it does not have the meaning of grandfather in kinship terminology. Although lacking space to justify my translation see for linguistic evidence M. Mayrhofer, *Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen*, Vol. XII, Heidelberg, 1963, p. 278. J. Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, Vol. XII, Pt. I, Göttingen, 1957, p. 255.

2 Eng. tran. (*The Sacred Books of the Aryans*, Vol. I, Delhi, 1972), [Part II, p. 239,—Ed.]

is *daṇḍa* was shown to us to be the eternal *vyavahāra*. We have heard that, 'What is *vyavahāra* was shown to be *dharma*' ; and what is the *veda* is indeed *dharma*, and what is *dharma* that is the correct path. This was in the beginning Brahmā, Prajāpati, the Great Father ; for he is the maker of all worlds with their gods, *asuras*, *rākṣasas*, men and great serpents ; indeed he is the maker of beings.'¹

Vyavahāra, a technical legal term, seems here to be nothing more than *daṇḍa* implying punishment, and the purpose of all these equations may be to show that each of the concepts is an instrument for the protection of creatures as also for the general prosperity of society. In this sense all these concepts are the same.²

Elsewhere other strong connections are revealed between Brahmā and *daṇḍa*. In the *Vāyu Purāṇa* (XLIX. 140), he is said to wield *daṇḍa* amongst the gods, a similar idea occurring in *Mbh.*, VI. 13. 24ff.³ This latter passage occurs at the conclusion of a description of all lands and *dvīpas*, and tells of Prajāpati who lived on Puṣkara which was located in Puṣkara *dvīpa* itself. It says :

'the Lord Prajāpati having himself established authority (*daṇḍa*) there, O Great King, remains constantly the continent's protector (*rakṣan*). O King he is king, benevolent, father and great-father, protecting (*gopāyati*) creatures both stupid and intelligent.'⁴

As with most of the *Mahābhārata* it is reasonably safe to assume that Prajāpati here is really Brahmā, this supposition being strengthened by the fact that Brahmā has very strong connections with Puṣkara as both a *tīrtha* and a *dvīpa*. This passage is significant for it equates Brahmā with the king himself, and while there is some evidence that he was occasionally regarded as king of the gods, it is more usual that he is a patriarchal figure giving advice to the gods and protecting them in this role,

1 *Mbh.*, XII. 122. 53-55.

2 Occasionally some of these concepts are equated elsewhere. E.g. *dharma* is said to be the *vedas* (*Mbh.*, XII. 160. 21). Brahmā has many connections with *dharma*, including being called *dharmamaya* (*Mbh.*, XII. 175. 34).

3 J. Gonda, *Ancient Indian Kingship*, Leiden, 1966, p. 19. Cf. D. R. Patil, *Cultural History from the Vāyu Purāṇa*, 1st ed., Poona, 1946, p. 49.

4 *Mbh.*, VI. 13. 29-30.

rather than specifically taking action himself as this passage suggests.¹

Another means of protecting society is the use of the sword as a royal weapon, this particular weapon being created by Brahmā specifically for this purpose (*Mbh.*, XII. 160. 22ff.). After having created the earth he created *dharma*, all creatures following it except the *dānavas*. These harassed creatures and a decay in the observance of *dharma* occurred. This prompted Brahmā to go to the Himavat, where for one thousand years he prepared to sacrifice for the success of beings (*lok-ārtha-siddhaye*). This sacrifice was an event of cosmic importance as evidenced by the attendance at it of all the gods and the *brahmarṣis*, as well as the moon and the stars. From the flames a *bhūta* (supernatural being) was produced, whose birth was heralded by a variety of portents and the shaking of the earth, and the ocean, further indications of its cosmic significance. At this Brahmā said :

'I have thought about this being whose powerful (*vīryavat*) name is "Asi", (who can be used) for the world's protection (*rakṣaṇ-ārthāya lokasya*) and for killing the god's enemies'.²

He gave the sword to Rudra who killed all of the *dānavas*, thereby re-establishing righteousness on the earth. Finally the sword is passed down a long line of people, until Manu gives it to the *Lokapālas* with a few instructions about how it should be properly used. The myth ends by stating that this sword was received by Yudhiṣṭhira and his brothers. Little comment is needed about this myth, except that it confirms the point previously made that Brahmā's prime concern is with protection, only secondarily with the means used to obtain this.

Several Purāṇas contain in their account of the *pratisarga* a myth which describes the history of mankind in the Kṛta and Tretāyugas after the creation (or recreation) has been completed.³ Specifically the myth concentrates on the socio-economic and religious condition of

1 Occasionally he is compared with human kings. See *Rām.*, I. 18. 34-36, where he is compared with Daśaratha, and Holtzmann, *op. cit.*, p. 213, n. 22, where he quotes passages from the *Mbh.* in which Yudhiṣṭhira is compared with Brahmā. Other evidence is available but would take up too much space here.

2 *Mbh.*, XII. 160. 42.

3 In particular : *Vāyu Purāṇa*, VIII. 1-176 ; *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, I. 7. 31ff. ; *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, XLIX ; *Kurma Purāṇa*, I. 27. 21-48 ; *Līṅga Purāṇa*, I. 39. 13-51.

mankind in these two Yugas, from an initial period when they enjoyed a type of physical bliss, needed no *dharma* to guide them, and experienced both happiness and long-life. In this period (Kṛtayuga) there were no organised social structures, for there was no need of the order that they provide. However, during the Tretāyuga changes occurred, the people acquired emotions such as *lobha*, *viṣāda* (despondence), *tṛṣṇā* (craving) and *rāga* (passion), terms which are often used in describing the condition of people in a society that is disintegrating, in this case through lack of proper institutions and rules to guide their behaviour. The people's decline is further noted by the sudden barrenness of the earth, which had formerly supplied fruit, crops and other sustaining foods without requiring cultivation. So suffering from hunger the people went to Brahmā for refuge (*śaraṇa*), and he milked the earth of its plants after which her fertility returned.¹ He taught them various livelihoods and established the *varṇas* as well instructing the people in their respective duties. Then he established the four *āśramas*. This myth while not being explicit clearly dwells on the dangers of a society without *dharma* (in the Kṛtayuga there was no need for *dharma* or any regulatory institutions), justifying the introduction of certain social institutions and a demarcation of individual duties for the various members of society. The only way for order to prevail is for the members of society to observe certain conventions institutionalised on the social level as the *varṇāśrama* system, in conjunction with *dharma*. It is significant that at least one recension of this myth goes into some detail about how Brahmā instructed people in their own caste duties, i. e. their *svadharma* (*Vāyu Purāṇa*, VIII. 161-74). Brahmā needed no longer to remain on earth after having taught them their correct duties and having established the social institutions, for it is these institutions (or rather adherence to them) which is the means by which individuals are protected from each other.²

1 *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, XLIX. 65. The parallels between this myth and the Pṛthu myth of the *Atharvaveda*, VIII. 10. 24 ; *Mbh.*, VII. App. I. No. 8, p. 1114 ; XII. 29. 121-36 and many purāṇic versions are striking and have not occurred by chance. *Kurma Purāṇa*, I. 27. 45-48, demonstrates the partial amalgamation of the two myths.

2 There are numerous accounts of the creation of the *varṇāśrama* by Brahmā in the

BRAHMĀ'S ROLE AS A PROTECTOR

Now we may turn briefly to the second area of his protective activity mentioned earlier which is based around the pervasive *deva-asura* conflict. It is on occasions when the positions of the gods in their respective heavens are threatened by *asuras* and others that they turn to Brahmā for refuge. He always receptive to their complaints gives them advice which is inevitably effective against the marauding *asuras*, allowing the gods to allay their fears. There are many illustrations of this in the texts, so it will suffice to present one which can in general be taken as representative of the others. The power of Rāvaṇa in the *Rāmāyaṇa* derives from a boon (*vara*) that he received from Brahmā on completion of severe penances (*tapas*).¹ The gods in despair at Rāvaṇa's harassment ask Brahmā for advice :

'He (Rāvaṇa) is envious, hates and intimidates the three worlds which are raised (above him). Also, he wishes to destroy Indra, king of the Thirty. With his gift of a boon he has become stupified and violent, oppressing *ṛṣis*, *yakṣas*, *gandharvas*, *asuras* and also *brāhmaṇas*. In his presence the sun does not shine, nor do the winds blow ; even the ocean, garlanded with agitated waves does not roll after having seen him. We are extremely frightened of this terrible looking *rākṣasa* ; so O Divine one, please find a means for his destruction.'²

Brahmā told them of a plan to kill Rāvaṇa, according to which Viṣṇu would be born as Rāma, for only a human being could kill Rāvaṇa because of the stipulation's of Brahmā's boon. This satisfied the gods who went away content. Again, protection is not explicitly mentioned here, but Brahmā's plan will ensure long term protection of the gods' interests, for he has ordained (*vi|dhā*) the plan for Rāvaṇa's eventual destruction, and his ordinances never fail. In the equivalent passage to this in the *Mahābhārata*, it is explicitly assumed by the gods that Brahmā will protect them, because they say :

'He, being very strong harasses all creatures with wickedness ; so,

purāṇic cosmogonies (*Kurma Purāṇa*, I. 2. 24. See Holtzmann, *op. cit.*, p. 185, for the *Mahābhārata* references).

1 See *Rām.*, ed. G. H. Bhatt (Baroda, 1960), I. 14. 7 ; cf. *Mbh.*, III. 258. 10-27.

2 *Rām.*, I. 14. 8-11.

Lord, protect (*trātu*) us, for there is no other protector (*trātā*) (than you).¹

In most cases Brahmā although devising the means of protection, which usually requires destruction of the *asura* or other offending figure, normally entrusts Viṣṇu, Śiva or some one else to carry out the plan he has devised.² However, even though himself not the active instrument of protection, he is responsible for it in an indirect way, and there is never any doubt that those whom he chooses to activate his plans will not carry out his commands.

I do not intend to deal with the third area of protection since it appears rarely in the texts. However, in addition to the examples illustrative of Brahmā's protective role which I have presented here, there is also a hint of this role in those epithets of his which end with the word *pati*.³ This word meaning 'husband', 'lord', derives from the root *pā* 'to protect', and occurs in the following of Brahmā's epithets ; *jagat-pati*,⁴ *bhūmi-pati*,⁵ *bhūta-pati*,⁶ *loka-pati*,⁷ and *lok-ādhipati*.⁸ These may signify that he protects the world of beings just as a father who is a husband protects his wife and family ; this being part of Brahmā's function as *pitāmaha* (Great Father). In conclusion it can be said that Brahmā in his capacity as Great Father (a patriarch) to gods and creatures is a protector of these. He is the god who establishes *dharma* and those social structures which shall generate social stability. To this extent his protective role must not be confused with that of Viṣṇu who re-establishes *dharma* when it has been upset.

1 *Mbh.*, III. 260. 3.

2 One exception would be the famous myth of the destruction of Tripura, in which Brahmā is Śiva's chariot driver.

3 For the etymology of *pati*, see J. R. Joshi, 'Prajāpati in Vedic Mythology and Ritual', *Ann. Bhan. Or. Res. Ins.*, Vol. LIII, 1972, p. 101.

4 Cf. *Kurma Purāṇa*, I. 2. 10 ; *Mbh.*, III. 259. 20 ; Hopkins, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

5 Cf. Holtzmann, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

6 Cf. Hopkins, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

7 Cf. *Rām.*, VI. 61.23 ff. ; Hopkins, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

8 Cf. *Rām.*, III. 51.32 ; *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, I, p. 180. Also, *Encyclopedia of Buddhism*, Colombo, 1970, p. 292. [Cf. verse 2 of the Mandasor inscription (*Corps. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, ed. J. F. Fleet, p. 152) of Yaśodharman alias Viṣṇuvardhana of the Mālava Śaivāt 589 (532 A. D.) referring to Svayaṃbhū i. e. Brahmā as creator, preserver and destroyer.—Ed.]

TWO VIDISHA SEALINGS

K. D. BAJPAI

RECENTLY TWO SEALINGS of unusual importance have been acquired by me from Vidisha in Madhya Pradesh.¹ They are made of red baked clay and both of them are inscribed.

I

The first sealing is oval in shape. It measures 3·8 × 2·7 cms. The Brāhmī legend, written in two lines inside the rectangular incuse of the sealing, has been deciphered by me as follows :

(1) *mahārāja mahā-*

(2) *senāpati Sena*

i.e. (of) Sena, king and commander-in-chief.

On palaeographic grounds this sealing can be assigned to the latter half of the second or early third century A. D. Its contents are important indeed. The titles '*mahārāja*' and '*mahāsenāpati*' had become well established by 200 A. D. Several rulers in ancient India had assumed these titles, which later on came to be used by the feudatories of powerful monarchs.

The personal name of the chief given on the sealing is only Sena. The two titles assumed by him leave no doubt to indicate that he was a ruler with the additional assignment of chief of his army.

In the present state of our knowledge it is not possible to identify this ruler called Sena. In the lists of kings of the ancient *janapadas* of Pañcāla, Ayodhyā and Kauśāmbī, we have names of some rulers ending in Sena. But it does not seem plausible to identify any of them with Sena of the present sealing. Names like Yajñasena and Mādhavasena of ancient Vidarbha are known from literature.² It may be that some local chief named Sena emerged into power in Central India sometimes at the end of the second century or in the beginning of the third century A. D. But nothing, with certainty, can be said about his dynasty or other

1 According to the owner of the seals, they were discovered on the right bank of the river Betwa near Vidisha town.

2 For details, see H. C. Raychaudhuri, *Pol. Hist. Anc. India*, 6th ed., 1953, pp. 372-73.

relevant details about him till we get some more reliable evidence.

II

The second sealing is circular and measures 3·6 × 3·4 cms. The oval seal-impression on it shows an ornamental *cakra* above, flanked by two wavy lines. Below the *cakra* are two straight lines under which is written a Brāhmī inscription in two lines, which I have read as follows :

(1) *Śrī-viśāla-kūpa-*

(2) *śaulkikānām*

i.e. 'of the Custom-Officers [stationed near] the big well [at Vidisha'].

The back of the sealing shows clear impressions of a broad string with which it was tied.

The inscription indicates that the sealing belonged to the office of the tax-collectors, located near a well-known big well which was probably in the outskirts of ancient Vidiśā which was a great trade-centre.

In ancient Indian literature and inscriptions numerous references to the custom-offices and tax-collectors are found. A very interesting description is found in a passage of the *Arthasāstra* of Kauṭilya (II. 21.1-2) which indicates that it was the duty of the Chief-Custom-Officer to see that the custom-house was properly located and the banner of his office was put at the main entrance of the *śulka-śālā*. In each custom-house four or five tax-collectors were engaged to record the full details of the traders and their commodities, viz. who the traders were, from where they came, what article they carried and what their value was. The traders were also required to tell about the profits made by them on their transactions. Yājñavalkya (II.173) also refers to the custom-officers and tax-collectors.

The epigraphical evidence in this connection is also quite interesting and valuable. In the Bihar stone pillar inscription of Skandagupta there is a reference to the *Śaulkikas* (tax-collectors) along with the *Agrahārikas*, the *Gaulmikas*, etc.¹ In several other inscriptions of the Gupta and post-Gupta period references to such tax-collectors and custom-officers are found.

The Brāhmī letters on the sealing are of the Northern style and are assignable to about 500 A. D.

1 J. F. Fleet, *Corps. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 52 and note. Cf. also Ghoshal, *Contributions to the History of the Hindu Revenue System*, pp. 246 ff.; D. C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, Chap. VIII. [Was Viśālakūpa the name of a locality ?—Ed.]

ĀCĀRYA-VANDANĀ : D. R. BHANDARKAR BIRTH CENTENARY VOLUME

Two Vidisha Sealings



1



2

INDIAN COIN-NAMES ASSOCIATED WITH PLACES

SAMARESH BANDYOPADHYAY

OF THE NUMEROUS COIN-NAMES mentioned in Indian epigraphic and literary records,¹ some are named after certain personalities (e. g. *Toramāṇa*,² *Rudradāmaka*,³ etc.), while others after the name of some dynasties (e.g. *Kedāra*,⁴ *Kṣātrapaka*,⁵ etc.). A third group consists of those which are derived from certain foreign coin-names (e.g. *Dīnāra*, *Dramma*,⁶ etc.) and a fourth from the name of some goddess (e.g. *Nāṇaka*⁷). There is a fifth group from which certain official designations are derived⁸ and also a sixth which are connected with personal names (*Vigrahapāla-Dramma*,⁹ *Viśvamalla-priya-Dramma*,¹⁰ etc.). Interestingly enough, there is another group of coin-names which can be broadly divided into two types. The first type consists of those that are connected with geographical names and the second type those that are derived from the names of some places. Both these types of coin-names have been dealt with below.

- 1 For a list of the coin-names, see D. C. Sircar's *Indian Epigraphical Glossary* (henceforth *Ind. Ep. Gloss.*), Delhi, 1966, pp. 428-42; cf. also B. D. Chattopadhyay, *Coins and Currency Systems in South India c. A. D. 225—1300*, New Delhi, 1977, pp. 163-86.
- 2 See our paper 'Toramāṇa' in the *Itihāsa Cayanikā* (Dr. Sampurnanand Felicitation Volume), Lucknow, Part II, pp. 9-13.
- 3 See our discussion on *Rudradāmaka* in the *Journal of Ancient Indian History* (henceforth *Journ. Anc. Ind. Hist.*), Vol. I, 1968, pp. 32-35.
- 4 See our paper on *Kedāra* (*ibid.*, Vol. III, 1970, pp. 162-64).
- 5 See our paper 'Kṣātrapaka' (*ibid.*, Vol. I, 1968, pp. 30-36).
- 6 See *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* (henceforth *Journ. Num. Soc. Ind.*), Vol. XVII, Part II, pp. 64-82; Vol. XXX, p. 96.
- 7 See our paper 'Nāṇaka' (*Numismatic Chronicle*, London, 1969, pp. 305-08).
- 8 See our paper 'Official Designations from Early Indian Coin-names', *Journ. Anc. Ind. Hist.*, Vol. II, pp. 94-103.
- 9 See our paper 'A Note on Śrī-Vigraha Coins' in *Journ. Num. Soc. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 84-89.
- 10 See our discussion in *ibid.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 99-101 and notes.

I

COIN-NAMES CONNECTED WITH GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES

This type of coin-names are of two distinct classes, the first consisting of those that are connected with the names of towns, villages, etc. and the second of those that are connected with the names of countries.

CLASS I

LOKKI-GADYĀṆA, *LOKKIYA-PON*, *LOKKI-NIṢKA* and *LOKKIYA-VĪSA*. *Gadyāṇa* or *Gadyāṇaka* (often contracted into *Ga* or *Gadya*), a very popular coin of the Kannada-speaking area, was also known as *Pon-Gadyāṇa* or *Gadyāṇa-Ponnu* indicating that it was a gold coin. An inscription of 1184 A. D.¹ speaking of two *Paṇas* or *Hanas* as the rate of annual interest on a *Gadyāṇa* or *Pon* and of four *Pons* accruing annually to twenty *Gadyāṇas* makes one *Pon* or *Gadyāṇa* equal to ten *Paṇas*.² The inscriptions contain references to *Lokki-Gadyāṇa*³ (also known as *Lokkiya-Pon*⁴ and *Nokki-Māḍai*⁵) and to some of its varieties, e. g. *Lokkiya-cchina-Gadyāṇa*,⁶ *Lokki-priya-srāhi-Gadyāṇa*,⁷ *Lokki-srāheya-Ga-*

- 1 *South Indian Inscriptions* (henceforth *Sou. Ind. Ins.*), Vol. XI, Part II, p. 225 (No. 173, lines 55-56).
- 2 Sometimes, however, a *Paṇa* represented nine and three-fourth (*Ann. Rep. Ep.*, 1919-20, Madras, 1920, p. 21, No. 386) or even one-fifth (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 132) of a *Gadyāṇa* or *Māḍai*; in the latter case, as Chattopadhyay thinks (*op. cit.*, pp. 136, 157), 'a denomination representing $\frac{1}{5}$ of a standard coin might have been issued in actual currency' as is also suggested by references to *Era-Gadya* or $\frac{1}{5}$ *Gadya* in some inscriptions from Andhra (*Journ. Num. Soc. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, p. 127).
- 3 Cf. D. C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy* (henceforth *Ind. Ep.*), Delhi, 1965, p. 432 and note and p. 433; *Ind. Ep. Gloss.*, pp. 108, 435; Chattopadhyay, *op. cit.*, p. 170. For references to *Gadyāṇa* coins of silver, see D. C. Sircar, *Studies in Indian Coins*, Delhi, 1968, p. 17.
- 4 *Sou. Ind. Ins.*, Vol. XX, No. 101; *Ind. Ep. Gloss.* p. 435; Chattopadhyay, *op. cit.*, p. 175.
- 5 *Ep. Car.*, Vol. X, Mulbagal No. 49B; A. Appadorai, *Economic Conditions in Southern India (1000-1500 A. D.)*, Vol. II, University of Madras, 1936, p. 797. It is probably referred to as *Nakki-Māḍa* in an inscription from Kanchipuram (*Ann. Rep. Sou. Ind. Ep.*, 1893, No. 48', as cited by Chattopadhyay, *op. cit.*, p. 182).
- 6 Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 191.
- 7 *Sou. Ind. Ins.*, Vol. XV, No. 160; cf. also Chattopadhyay, *op. cit.*, p. 170. It is interesting to note the word *priya* being added to *Lokki*. *Priya* added to personal names (cf. *Viṣvamalla-priya-Dramma* mentioned above) is taken (*Ind. Ep. Gloss.*, p. 135;

*dyāṇa*¹ and *Varttika-Lokki-Gadyāṇa*,² etc. All these were apparently minted at Lokki or Lokkiguṇḍi, modern Lakkundi in the Dharwar District.³ It is difficult to determine the relationship between these different varieties of *Gadyāṇa*. However, minted at the same place a class of *Niṣka* is referred to as *Lokki-Niṣka* in the Halsi plates,⁴ dated 1199 A. D., of Kadamba Jayakeśin III of Goa, which also mentions another class of *Niṣka*, e. g. *Malavaramāri-Niṣka*, i. e. 'the *Niṣka* of Malavaramāri'. *Malavaramāri* meaning 'the slayer of the Malavas (i. e. the people of the Ghat Country)'⁵ was the title of Jayakeśin III and his uncle Śivacitta Permāḍi (1147-87 A. D.) and the three circular flat gold coins weighing 66 grains (two of Jayakeśin III and one of Śivacitta Permāḍi), noticed in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. X, Appendix, p. xxiv, according to J. F. Fleet, 'are probably the actual specimens of the *Malavaramāri-Niṣka*'.⁶ According

D. C. Sircar, *Early Indian Numismatic and Epigraphical Studies* [henceforth *Num. Ep. Stud.*], Calcutta, 1977, p. 149) as meaning 'favourite'. But it is perhaps better to take it in the sense of 'dearer than' (cf. Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 712) i. e. higher in value. Also see below for *Kaṭaka-priya-Gadyāṇa* and *Ind. Ep. Gloss.*, p. 108 (and not p. 180 as cited by Chattopadhyay, *op. cit.*, p. 170), for *Priya-śrāha-Gajamalla-Gadyāṇa*.

- 1 Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 191 ; Chattopadhyay, *op. cit.*, p. 170.
- 2 Cf. lines 23-24, 30-31, 38-39 of the Kondguli inscription of Bhūlokamalla, Year 7 (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 189-91). K. V. Ramesh (*ibid.*, p. 191) takes it to refer to gold coins minted by the merchant-guild of Lokkiguṇḍi. The same inscription mentions *Kaṭaka-Gadyāṇa* and *Kaṭaka-priya-Gadyāṇa*, taken as referring to coins manufactured at the royal mint in the capital city (*kaṭaka*). For references to coins issued by certain other merchant-guilds, see our paper 'Early Indian Coinage and the Commercial Community' in *Coins and Early Indian Economy*, ed. A. Mitra Shastri, Varanasi, 1976, pp. 164-79.
- 3 *Journ. Num. Soc. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 128 ; Chattopadhyay, *op. cit.*, p. 128. Pakṣīśvara of *Pakṣīśvara-Honnu* mentioned in an inscription from Rajana Sirivur in the Halebid Hubli, Karnataka (*Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department for the year 1940*, Mysore, 1941, p. 143), might have been named after a god or a place of the same name.
- 4 Cf. lines 7-9 of the inscription (*Journ. Bomb. Bra. Roy. As. Soc.*, Vol. IX, p. 244 and not p. 241 as cited by Chattopadhyay, *op. cit.*, p. 184).
- 5 *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, p. 570.
- 6 *Journ. Bomb. Bra. Roy. As. Soc.*, Vol. X, Appendix, p. lviii. For Fleet's earlier

to D. C. Sircar, sixteen smaller gold coins, each weighing 59 grains, also sent by the collector of Belgaum along with the above three coins and noticed in the same place, 'which were prevalent in the Kadamba kingdom side by side with the issues of Śivacitta Permādi and Jayakeśin III, with which they may have been discovered together are the *Lokki-Niṣkas* mentioned in the Halsi plates'.¹ Sircar also suggests that *Lokki-Niṣka* is probably the same as *Lokki-Gadyāṇa*.² If Sircar's suggestion is correct, the *Lokkiya-cchina-Gadyāṇa*³ may perhaps then be taken to refer to some smaller variety of the *Lokki-Gadyāṇa* or *Lokki-Niṣka*, for the word *cchina* means 'small'.

Another coin minted at Lokki seems to have been *Lokkiya-Viṣa* mentioned in certain inscriptions,⁴ one of which⁵ states that five *Lokkiya-Viṣas* worked out as monthly interest per *Poṇ* (*Gadyāṇa*).⁶ *Viṣa*, a contracted form of the well known coin-name *Vimśopaka*, which, as has been shown by us elsewhere,⁷ occurs in a large number of literary and epigraphic records and was not of the same value always.

BĀGULI-GADYĀṆA. Besides the *Gadyāṇas* manufactured at Lokkiṅḍi, there is evidence of the minting of *Gadyāṇas* from various other

interpretation of the expression *Malavaramāri-Niṣka*, see *ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 245.

- 1 *Num. Ep. Stud.*, p. 79. Sircar's alternative suggestion (*ibid.*, p. 77) that of the two different kinds of *Niṣka* mentioned in the Halsi plates one was possibly a gold coin and the other a silver coin does not seem acceptable in view of the discovery of the gold *Malavaramāri-Niṣka* and also gold coins of smaller size and lesser weight.
- 2 *Ibid.*, p. 78. Reference to *Lokki-Gadyāṇa* being converted into *Mayūra-Gadyāṇa* is met with in an inscription of 1098 A. D. from the Bellary District (*Sou. Ind. Ins.*, Vol. IX, Part I, No. 164).
- 3 On the analogy of the *Lokkiya-cchina-Gadyāṇa*, it is tempting to take Navila of the *Navila-cchina-Poṇ*, mentioned in an inscription from Kudatini in the Bellary Taluk, Bellary District (*Sou. Ind. Ins.*, Vol. IX, Part I, No. 164), as the name of a place.
- 4 *Ind. Ep.*, p. 433 and note 5.
- 5 *Ibid.*, p. 433 and note 6.
- 6 This makes 30 *Lokkiya-Viṣas* equal to one *Paṇa* and 300 *Lokkiya-Viṣas* one *Gadyāṇa* or *Poṇ* and shows that *Viṣa* was used in different senses in different contexts. For references to *Viṣa* as one-sixteenth of a *Gadyāṇa*, see *Journ. Num. Soc. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, p. 132 ; cf. also Chattopadhyay, *op. cit.*, p. 129 note 5. *Paṇa* is mentioned as of less value than *Viṣa* in an inscription of 1068 A. D. from the Bellary District (*Sou. Ind. Ins.*, Vol. IX, Part I, No. 132).
- 7 See our discussion on *Vimśopaka* in *Journ. Num. Soc. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 21-33, 149-52.

places. Thus, an inscription of 1160 A. D.¹ refers to *Bāguli-Gadyāṇa*, seven of which are stated to have been paid annually to a teacher (*upādhyāya*) who was to expound *śāstra* and *purāṇa* before the deity (*ā devaralli śāstra-byākhānamam māḍalum purāṇamam helalu-vorbbar-upādhyā-yargge*). The *Bāguli-Gadyāṇa* apparently refers to the *Gadyāṇa* minted at Bāguli or Bālguli, modern Bagali in the Harapanahalli Taluk, Bellary District, Karnataka, which has yielded a large number of interesting inscriptions.

BĀRAKŪRA-GADYĀNA. Reference to *Bārakūra-Gadyāṇa* is met with in the inscriptions of South Kanara² and it may have meant *Gadyāṇas* issued from the mint at Bārakūra or Bārahkanyāpura, modern Barakuru, a capital of the early medieval Ālupas and the largest city in South Kanara during the Vijayanagara period. That Bārakūra had its own mint is clearly demonstrated by expressions like *Bārakūra parivarttanakke saluva kāṭi-Gadyāṇa*, *Bārakūra parivarttanakke saluva doḍḍa-varaha-Gadyāṇa*, *Arddha-Bārakūra parivarttanakke saluva doḍḍa-varaha Gadyāṇa* and, judging from the contexts in which these expressions occur, K. V. Ramesh opines that 'it may be safely concluded that they denoted coins brought into circulation in South Kanara from outside but which could be converted into coins issued from Bārakūru mint'.³

BĪRAGOṬṬAPU-GADYĀ [NA]. In an inscription from Simhachalam in Andhra mention is made of *Bīragoṭṭapu-Gadyā[ṇa]* and it has been explained as referring to the coins of the Pallavas of Vīrakūṭa, named after their capital.⁴ It is, however, possible to think that the coins were so-called because they were manufactured at Bīragoṭṭa or Vīrakūṭa.

MAṄGALŪRA-GADYĀNA. Referred to in certain inscriptions from South Kanara,⁵ *Maṅgalūra-Gadyāṇa* apparently denotes the *Gadyāṇas*

1 *Sou. Ind. Ins.*, Vol. IX, Part I, No. 267 ; cf. also K. A. Nilakanta Sastri in *Early History of the Deccan*, ed. G. Yazdani, London, 1960, p. 404.

2 *Sou. Ind. Ins.*, Vol. VII, No. 223 ; cf. also K. V. Ramesh, *A History of South Kanara*, Dharwar, 1970, p. 277 ; Chattopadhyay, *op. cit.*, pp. 129-30, 167.

3 K. V. Ramesh, *op. cit.*, p. 290. For an instance of the similar practice of converting one class of coins into another, see p. 142, note 2 above.

4 *Journ. Num. Soc. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, p. 127.

5 *Sou. Ind. Ins.*, Vol. VII, No. 233 ; cf. also Ramesh, *op. cit.*, p. 277 ; Chattopadhyay, *op. cit.*, p. 170. *Gadyāṇa* sometimes being mentioned with prefixes or suffixes like *poṇ*, *ponnu*, *hon*, *honna*, etc., all meaning 'gold' suggests the application of the term

manufactured at the city of Maṅgalūra or Maṅgalāpura,¹ modern Mangalore. It is evident from an inscription that Maṅgalūra, which had been the capital of the Ālupas during the seventh and eighth centuries, was once again made one of the capital cities by Kulaśekhara I (c. 1160-1220 A. D.). The Mudabidure inscription,² dated 1430 A. D., of Devarāya 'describes the city as the abode of groups of beautiful damsels, with its rich markets dealing in gold etc., whose inhabitants were ever kept happy with plentiful of paddy and other grains.'

ROṆA[DA]-ARU-GADYĀNA and *ROṆADA-POM-DHARANA*. A variety of *Gadyāna* known as *Aru-Gadyāna* minted at Roṇa, 'the chief town of the Roṇ Taluk of the Dhārwar District' is perhaps referred to as *Roṇada-Aru-Gadyāna* in an inscription of Śaka 893 (A. D. 971-72)³ which records the gift of twelve such *Gadyānas* by a certain person named Pañcaladeva. The same inscription also refers to *Dharana* of gold manufactured at Roṇa as *Roṇada-Pom-Dharana* and states that Malliga-Gādayya's gifts for the temple of the god Malligeśvara included one such *Dharana*.⁴

NELLŪRU-MĀḌAI, *NELLŪRU-PUDU-MĀḌAI* and *NELLŪRU-GANḌAGOPĀLAN-PUDU-MĀḌAI*. Referred to as *Māḍa* in the Telegu records, the *Māḍai* coins are frequently mentioned in Tamil inscriptions and sometimes in association with different names.⁵ The *Māḍai* was a gold coin,⁶ 'though there was difference either in weight or in the metallic purity' among its different varieties.⁷ The *Māḍai* coins were also issued in silver.⁸ An inscription⁹ of the Kalyāṇa-Varada Perumāḷ

also to coins of metal other than gold.

- 1 In an inscription of 1302 A. D., Bāṅkideva is stated to be ruling from his royal place at Maṅgalāpura (Ramesh, *op. cit.*, p. 129).
- 2 *Sou. Ind. Ins.*, Vol. VII, No. 196 ; Ramesh, *op. cit.*, p. 282.
- 3 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, 1883, pp. 255-56 ; cf. line 15 of the inscription.
- 4 Lines 18 and 19 of the inscription.
- 5 *Journ. Num. Soc. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, p. 125 ; Chattopadhyay, *op. cit.*, pp. 179-83.
- 6 *Ibid.*, p. 123.
- 7 *Ind. Ep.*, p. 431.
- 8 Cf. Sircar, *Studies in Indian Coins*, p. 17. 'Colloquially, *Māḍalu* means "money" in general' (cf. *Journ. Andh. Hist. Res. Soc.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 79 ; *Śatābda-Kaumudī*, Nagpur, 1964, p. 134 note 63).
- 9 *Ann. Rep. Ep.*, 1921-22, Madras, 1923, p. 22 (No. B/300).

INDIAN COIN-NAMES ASSOCIATED WITH PLACES

Temple at Attur, a village in the Chingleput Taluk of the Chingleput District of Tamil Nadu, records the gift of one *Nellūru-Māḍai* for a twilight lamp to the temple of Tiruvuragattu-Emberumāṇ and in another inscription¹ of the Arulāḷa-Perumāḷ Temple at Little Conjeeveram, Conjeeveram Taluk, Chingleput District, the gift of one thousand seven hundred fifty *Nellūru-Pudu-Māḍai* coins for purchase of land for offerings by a merchant is recorded. Both these inscriptions² belong to one and the same king and, according to Yasoda Devi, '*Nellūru-Māḍai*, *Nellūru-Pudu-Māḍai* occur in the records of king Allutikka (A. D. 1248-1272)' and 'possibly *Nellūru-Māḍai* was an earlier coin, and Allutikka called his new coin *Pudu-Māḍai*'.³ But, as noticed by Yasoda Devi herself, the *Nellūru-Māḍai* is also mentioned in an inscription⁴ of the twentieth year of Kopperunjiṅgadeva from the Arulāḷa-Perumāḷ Temple which records the gift of fifteen such coins for maintaining a perpetual lamp by a lady named Śevakkāl. Yasoda Devi's suggestion that Allutikka called his new coin *Nellūru-Pudu-Māḍai* also does not seem acceptable in view of the fact that in an epigraph⁵ of the second year of the Coḷa king Vīrarājendra (1178-1218 A. D.) at Tiruppachchur, Tiruvallur Taluk, Chingleput District, mention is made of the *Nellūru-Pudu-Māḍai*, with the interest on six of which, as stated in the same record, two lamps were to be maintained.

In this connection it may be interesting to refer to the *Nellūru-Gaṇḍagopāḷaṇ-Pudu-Māḍai* mentioned in an inscription⁶ of the Coḷa king Rājarāja III (1218-56 A. D.) from the Puṇyakoṭīśvara Temple at Little Conjeeveram. In both the records of Allutikka,⁷ referred to above,

1 *Ibid.*, 1919-20, Madras, 1920, p. 21 (No. 441).

2 While the inscription at Attur is dated in the third year of the king, the other is dated in his fifth year.

3 *Journ. Num. Soc. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, p. 125.

4 *Ann. Rep. Ep.*, 1919-20, Madras, 1920, p. 14 (No. B/356).

5 *Ann. Rep. Sou. Ind. Ep. for the year ending 31st March, 1930*, Madras, 1932, p. 14 (No. B/116).

6 *Ann. Rep. Ep.*, 1920-21, Madras, 1921, p. 57 (No. C/2).

7 In the inscription of his fifth year, this form of his name occurs and he is called *Tribhuvana-Cakravartin-Mahārāja-Gaṇḍagopāḷadeva* while in the record of his third year the name is read as *Allun-Tirukkālatti* and he is called *Tribhuvana-Cakravartin*.

he is given the epithet *Gaṇḍagopāla* and the *Nellūru-Gaṇḍagopālaṇ-Pudu-Māḍai* may perhaps mean the coins newly introduced by Alluntikka. It is, however, difficult to be certain as no coins of Alluntikka, either bearing his name or epithet *Gaṇḍagopāla*, have hitherto come to light. Coins sometimes attributed to him are those which have been found at the village of Prabalabedu in the Cuddapah District and which bear the representation of a 'kneeling Garuḍa' on the obverse and on the reverse the legend *Dānava-Murāri Baṇṭara* in Telugu-Kannaḍa script.¹ 'The prefix *Nellūru* signifies the celebrated capital at Nellore',² at the mint of which the coins *Nellūru-Māḍai*, *Nellūru-Pudu-Māḍai*, *Nellūru-Gaṇḍagopālaṇ-Pudu-Māḍai*, etc., were evidently manufactured. That Nellore was a mint-town is possibly also apparent from certain coins of Kulottuṅga I (1070-1118 A. D.), on the reverse of which occurs the legend *Ne*³ i. e. *Nellūra* (Nellore).

GOKAṆA-GADYĀṆA, *GOKAṆA-RŪKA*, *GOKAṆA-SIṄGA-RŪKA* and *KODŪRI-GOKAṆA-SIṄGA-RŪKA*. An inscription at Velpunuru, dated Śaka 1127 (1205 A. D.),⁴ mentions the *Gokaṇa-Gadya* i. e. *Gokaṇa-Gadyāṇa* and, according to Yasoda Devi, 'either Gokaṇa

Gaṇḍagopāladeva. He was also called *Madhurāntaka-Poṭṭapi Cola* (cf. Chattopadhyay, *op. cit.*, p. 87). In an inscription, dated Śaka 1028 (1106 A. D.), Kelima, a subordinate official of the Kadamba king Tribhuvanamalla, has been given the title *Gaṇḍagopāla* and described as having constructed a tank called *Gaṇḍagopāla* (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, p. 72).

- 1 *Proc. Tran. Or. Con.*, 1924, pp. 272-73 ; Chattopadhyay, *loc. cit.* and p. 299.
- 2 *Journ. Num. Soc. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, p. 125; cf. also *Journ. Andh. Hist. Res. Soc.*, Vol. XXV, p. 125.
- 3 Cf. Chattopadhyay, *op. cit.*, p. 60 and note 2 ; p. 258 ; Plate V. 248. In certain inscriptions from Andhra mention is made of *Telikatta-Gaṇḍa-Māḍa*, *Aubala-Māḍa*, etc. It is, however, not certain whether *Telikatta* is the name of a place or not and the *Aubala-Māḍa* is taken to be named 'after a local ruler or god at Ahobalam' (*Journ. Num. Soc. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, p. 124).
- 4 *Ann. Rep. Sou. Ind. Ep. for the year ending 31st March, 1926*, Madras, 1927, p. 29 (No. B/576). Chattopadhyay (*op. cit.*, p. 169) cites *Sou. Ind. Ins.*, Vol. X, No. 244, for a reference to *Gokaṇa-Gadyāṇa*, mentioned in an epigraph dated, according to him, in 1265 A. D., *Journ. Num. Soc. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, p. 126, for *Gokaṇa-Gadya* occurring in an inscription of A. D. 1205 from Velpunuru and (p. 185) *Ann. Rep. Sou. Ind. Ep.*, 1926, for *Gokaṇaka-Varāhaṇ* mentioned in an inscription of A. D. 1205. It may, however, be pointed out that the inscription published in *Sou. Ind.*

was a local ruler or the coin refers to Gokarna, a pilgrim centre'.¹ Described as a town on the shores of the southern ocean in the *Raghuvamśa*² and mentioned in an epigraph³ of such remote place as Nalanda, Gokarna in the North Kanara District is a well known place of pilgrimage. If it is accepted that the *Gokarna-Gadyāṇa* was minted at Gokarna, expressions like *Gokarna-Rūka*,⁴ *Gokarna-Siṅga-Rūka*,⁵ etc., may all be taken to stand for coins manufactured at the same place i. e. Gokarna as the use of the term *rūka* in the sense of a coin, ⁶ particularly a silver coin, is frequently met with in the records of the Velanandu Coḍas, the Cāgis, the Kotas, the Matsyas, the Kākatīyas, the Śilāvaṃśis of Nandāpura, and the Telugu-Coḍas. ⁷ But, on the analogy of the *Kṛṣṇarāja-Rūpaka*, *Vigraha-Dramma*, etc., it has been presumed ⁸ that *Gokarna-Gadyāṇa*, *Gokarna-Rūka*, *Gokarna-Siṅga-Rūka* (i. e. *Gokarna-Rūka* coins bearing the representation of *siṅga* or lion), etc., are all coins issued by Gokarna, the Telugu-Coḍa chief. The suggestion does not seem unlikely in view of the fact that in a Kākatīya record⁹ mention is made of *Koḍūri-Gokarna-Siṅga-Rūka* which, as Y. Gopal Reddy thinks, means the *Rūka* of Gokarna bearing the representation of lion and struck at Koḍūri or Koḍūripura mentioned in the Jedcherla inscriptions¹⁰ which describe Gokarna as *Koḍūripura-varā-dhīśvara*.

Ins., Vol. X, No. 244, is the same as that which was originally noticed in *Ann. Rep. Sou. Ind. Ep. for the year ending 31st March, 1926*, Madras, 1927 (No. B/576) and the record is from Velpunuru. That is, the three references cited by Chattopadhyay are to one and the same inscription.

- 1 *Journ. Num. Soc. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, p. 126.
- 2 VIII. 33.
- 3 Cf. the Nalanda copper-plate of Devapāla, verse 7 (*Gaudalekhamālā*, p. 36).
- 4 *Sou. Ind. Ins.*, Vol. X, Nos. 351 and 352 (both dated in Śaka 1177 i. e. 1265 A. D.)
- 5 *Telingana Inscriptions*, Miscellaneous, No. 6.
- 6 'The *Kṛīḍābhīrāmanu* (p. 54) states that at the cost of one *Rūka* all the items of food were supplied in a hotel at Warangal' (cf. *Śatābda-Kaumudī*, Nagpur, 1964, p. 134, note 60); cf. also *Journ. Andh. Hist. Res. Soc.*, Vol. XXV, p. 124.
- 7 *Journ. Num. Soc. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, p. 130; *Śatābda-Kaumudī*, p. 132.
- 8 *Śatābda-Kaumudī*, p. 133.
- 9 Cf. *ibid.*, p. 132.
- 10 Cf. *ibid.*, p. 134 and note 61; *Hyd. Arch. Ser.*, No. 19 (Nos. MN 12 and 13).

CLASS II

CĪNA-KKANAKKAM. Literally meaning 'the Chinese gold coin', the Tamil expression *cīna-kkanakkam* occurs in an inscription from the Karona-svamin Temple at Nagapattinam, Nagapattinam Taluk, Thanjavur District, Tamil Nadu. ¹ Dated in the seventh year (A. D. 1019) of the Coḷa king Rājendra I, the epigraph records the consecration of an image of Ardha-nārigal by Śrī Kuruttan Keśuvan *alias* Agralekai and his making of two gifts, each of 87 $\frac{3}{4}$ *kaḷaṇju* of *Cīna-kkanakkam* and another of 60 $\frac{3}{4}$ *kaḷaṇju* of *Undigai-ppon*. No Chinese gold coin is, however, so far reported to have been found in India and only hoards of Chinese copper coins have been discovered ² and this leads K. G. Krishnan to believe that 'one may have to look forward to future finds of Chinese gold coins in or around Nagapattinam on the east coast'. ³ Krishnan also observes that 'the Chinese coinage found its way through the empire of Śrīvijaya and Kaṭāha to Tamil Nad and that Nagapattinam flourished as a great port, where merchants from various countries assembled to exchange their merchandise'.

ĪLAK-KĀŚU and *ĪLAK-KARUN-KĀŚU*. 'Īlam' is the Tamil name for former Ceylon, now called Sri Lanka. *Īlak-Kāśu* means 'the *Kāśu* of Ceylon' i. e. 'the Ceylonese coin'. ⁴ In two inscriptions from Anuradapura, ⁵ Sri Lanka, palaeographically assignable to the seventh-eighth century, it is recorded that a deposit of 30 *Īlak-Kāśu* was made for food offerings for a perpetual lamp by Kumāraṇattuperūr and Codrington ⁶ takes it to refer to a coin of former Ceylon. Mention of *Īlak-Kāśu* in an Indian record is first noticed in an inscription dated in the twenty-

1 *Ann. Rep. Ind. Ep. for 1956-57*, p. 59 (No. B/166).

2 For three important hoards of Chinese copper coins, see Chattopadhyay, *op. cit.*, p. 145 and notes. 'Stray references to the finds of Chinese coins along with the indigenous, Roman and Arabic copper coins have been made from the time of W. Elliot'. 'Stray finds of Chinese brass coins from Karnataka and from Sirpur in Madhya Pradesh have also been reported' (Chattopadhyay, *loc. cit.*).

3 *Journ. Num. Soc. Ind.*, Vol. XX, p. 13.

4 Cf. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Coḷas*, 2nd Ed. (Revised), 1955, pp. 617 f.; *Journ. Num. Soc. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 12.

5 *Government of Madras, Public Department*, G. O. No. 961, 2nd August, 1913, p. 66 (Nos. 607-08).

6 *Ceylon Coins and Currency*, p. 52.

fourth year (A. D. 931) of Parāntaka I from Tiruppundurutti,¹ although, as K. A. Nilakanta Sastri² points out, it was current in the Coḷa kingdom as early as the seventh and eighth centuries. According to Nilakanta Sastri, the introduction of this coin into Coḷa currency was the result of the invasion of Madurai and the island of Ceylon by Parāntaka I. He further states that the Ceylon type 'with a rude human figure standing on the obverse, and seated on the reverse, and the traditional Coḷa type with the seated tiger, fish and bow emblems', existed side by side almost from the beginning, 'the Ceylon type being specially suited for circulation in the Pāṇḍyan country' where it was probably known long before. An inscription³ of the thirty-third year of Parāntaka I from Anaemalai, Madurai District, states that the *Īlak-Kāṣu* was equal to $7\frac{1}{2}$ new *Akkams*. The value of the *Akkams* of the time of Parāntaka I (907-955 A. D.) being not known, that of *Īlak-Kāṣu* also remains uncertain.

In certain inscriptions, mention is made of *Īlak-Karun-Kāṣu*⁴ i.e. 'the black *Kāṣu* of Ceylon'. Nilakanta Sastri thinks that some of the impure silver coins of the Coḷas now known may be assigned to this series, full-weight or half, as the case may be.⁵ The *Īlak-Kāṣu* and the *Īlak-Karun-Kāṣu* are sometimes taken to be one and the same.⁶ But a consideration of the evidence supplied by certain inscriptions, however, leads C. R. Srinivasan to make a difference between the two and he thinks that 'the purchase value of *Īlak-Kāṣu* was lower than that of *Īlak-Karun-Kāṣu*.'⁷ Thus, he refers to the Tirukkalambiyur inscription which records that Āruraṇ Poṇṇambalattadigal, the queen of Uttama Coḷa (970-85 A.D.), purchased 7 *ma* of land making a lumpsum deposit of 60 *Īlak-Karun-Kāṣu* and to another inscription⁸ which states that 25 *Īlak-Karun-Kāṣu* fetched

1 *Ann. Rep. Sou. Ind. Ep. for the year ending 31st March 1931*, Madras, 1934, p. 13 (No. B/106).

2 *Loc. cit.*

3 *Sou. Ind. Ins.*, Vol. III, Part III, p. 239 (No. 106). A *Kāṣu* is sometimes regarded as equivalent to 12 *Akkams* (*ibid.*, p. 239, note 5; Vol. II, p. 76).

4 Nilakanta Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 618; *Journ. Num. Soc. Ind.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 173-74.

5 Nilakanta Sastri, *loc. cit.*

6 *Journ. Num. Soc. Ind.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 176.

7 *Ibid.*, pp. 173-74, 176.

8 *Ann. Rep. Ep.*, 1921-22, Madras, 1923, p. 48 (No. 549).

only $1\frac{1}{2}$ *ma* of land. It is, however, difficult to be definite on the point, for the price of 1 *ma* of land might not have been the same in both the places and the reason why less *ma* of land was fetched by *Ilak-Kāṣu* may be adduced to the difference in the quality of the land.

KHURĀSĀNI-DIRHAM. It is mentioned by Abū-l-Fidā. ¹ According to Alexander Kyd Nairne, the *Pārūttha-Drammas* mentioned in Indian records ² 'seem to be Parthian *Drammas*' and 'perhaps they are the same as the coins mentioned by Abū-l-Fidā as *Khurāsāni-Dirhems* and by Mās'ūdī and Sulaimān as *Tātariya* or *Tahiriyeh-Dirhems*'. ³ Sulaimān, who wrote in 851 A. D., states that the coins current in the country of Balharā, i. e. the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king of the Deccan, are 'the *Tātariya-Dirhams*, each of which weighs a *Dirham* and a half of the coinage of the king'. ⁴ The said *Dirham* was also in circulation in the dominion of the king of Juzr (i. e. the Gurjara Pratihāra emperor), as is known from Ibn Khurdādba, ⁵ who died in 912 A. D. Al Mās'ūdī, who died in 956 A. D., describes the said *Dirham* as *Tātariya-Dirham* or *Talatawiya-Dirham* and supports Sulaimān's statement regarding the weight of these *Dirhams* and their circulation in the kingdom of Balharā. ⁶ Ibn Haukal, ⁷ who seems to have finished his work in 976 A. D., records the circulation of the same *Dirham*, described by him as *Tātari* and as equal in weight to a *Dirham* and a third, also at Mansūra in Sind side by side with another coin stamped at Kandahār and equivalent to five *Dirhams*. Like Sulaimān, Al Idrīsī, ⁸ who was born towards the end of the eleventh century, also describes the coin as *Tātariya-Dirham*.

1 *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, Bombay, 1896, p. 21, note 6.

2 See our paper 'Pārūttha Drama' in *Journ. Num. Soc. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 96-101.

3 *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 21, note 6. Chattopadhyay (*op. cit.*, p. 144) is also inclined to take the *Pārūttha-Drama* as referring to the Parthian *Drammas*.

4 Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as told by its own Historians*, Vol. I, pp. 3-4.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 13. Chattopadhyay (*op. cit.*, p. 143) appears to opine that Khurdādba supports Sulaimān's statement regarding the weight of the *Tātariya-Dirham*. Khurdādba, however, does not say anything about the weight of the coin.

6 Elliot and Dowson, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

7 *Ibid.*, p. 35. D. C. Sircar (*Num. Ep. Stud.*, p. 25) wrongly attributes Haukal's statement to Al Istakhri (who wrote in 951 A. D.). Sircar also seems to be wrong when he says (*loc. cit.*) that Khurdādba died in 916 A. D.

8 Elliot and Dowson, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

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These coins are called *Tāhīrya* 'in the Paris edition of *Mās'ūdī*' and 'Prof. Cowell states that the same word is used in the Oxford Ms. of Ibn Khurdādba'. 'This reading gives weight to a suggestion made by Mr. Thomas, that these *Dirhams* were coins of the Tahirides, who were reigning in Khurāsān, and exercised authority over Sīstān in the time of our author Sulaimān'.¹ If the suggestion of Thomas is correct, as seems quite likely, Abū-l-Fidā's *Khurāsāni-Dirhams* are the same as *Tātariya* or *Tāhīrya-Dirhams*,² as Nairne thinks.

The difficulty in accepting the suggestion that the *Pārūttha-Drammas* are the Parthian *Drammas*³ and are referred to as *Khurāsāni-Dirham*, *Tātariya-Dirhams*, etc., by Muḥammadan writers lies in the following facts.

(1) The *Pārūttha-Dramma*, as shown elsewhere by us,⁴ is clearly stated in the *Lekhapaddhati* to have been minted at Śrīmāla, i. e. Bhinmal, and can hardly be associated with any foreign currency. On the other hand, the coins referred to by the Muḥammadan writers are nowhere mentioned as being minted anywhere in India. *Mās'ūdī* only states that 'they are impressed with the date of the reign'⁵ and this led to the wrong presumption⁶ that the *Tātariya-Dirhams* were manufactured in the country of Balharā.

(2) The *Purātanaprabandhasaṅgraha*, as noted elsewhere,⁷ describes the *Pārūttha-Dramma* as equal to eight *Drammas* (*ekasmin Pārūthake aṣṭau Drammāḥ bhavanti*) whereas, as seen above, the series of foreign coins, referred to as *Khurāsāni-Dirhams*, *Tātariya-Dirham*, etc., that obtained currency in certain parts of India, stood in the adjusted value relationship of $1\frac{1}{2}$ or $1\frac{1}{3}$ ⁸ of the local *Drammas*.

1 *Ibid.*, p. 3, note 4.

2 A. Cunningham (*Coins of Mediaeval India from the Seventh Century down to Muhammadan Conquests*, pp. 47-48) identified these coins with the *Gadhiyā-Paisā* class of coins.

3 See above p. 150 and note 3.

4 *Journ. Num. Soc. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 97, 99-100.

5 Elliot and Dowson, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

6 A. K. Majumdar, *The Chaulukyas of Gujarat*, Bombay, 1956, p. 269; K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Foreign Notices of South India from Megasthenes to Ma-Huan*, University of Madras, 1939, p. 123; cf. also Chattopadhyay, *op. cit.*, p. 143, note 8.

7 *Journ. Num. Soc. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, p. 97.

8 This shows that Chattopadhyay's contention (*op. cit.*, p. 143, note 8) that all the

MEVĀDYA-NĀNĀ. The Toda Raising inscription ¹ of the time of Asalema Śāhī (A. D. 1547) mentions *Mevādyā-Nānā* apparently to refer to the coins of Mewar. *Nānā*, same as *Nāṇaka*, referred to above, has been used here in the generic sense of coin or money and does not refer to any particular coin. In the same sense it has also been found to be used in other places. ²

II

COIN-NAMES DERIVED FROM PLACE-NAMES

BALOTRA. Referred to ³ by the Muslim chronicler Muḥammad 'Ūfī, who had his residence at Delhi under Īltutmish⁴ (A. D. 1210-36), the *Balotra* coins are stated to have been of silver. According to D. C. Sircar, the silver coins referred to as Balotra are so called because they were minted at a place of the same name. ⁵ Sircar identifies Balotra with a well known town called Balotra (lat. 25° 49', long. 72° 21') in the Jodhpur Division of Rajasthan, on the road from Balmer (or Barmer) to the city of Jodhpur, 62 miles south-west of the latter. Standing on the right bank of the river Luni, on the high road from Jodhpur to Dwarka, it is a famous place of pilgrimage. A fair lasting for fifteen days and attended by many thousands of people is held at Balotra every year in March. Sircar is of the opinion ⁶ that the Balotra coins of 'Ūfī 'may be the silver issues of the Bull-and-Horseman type bearing the name or title Sāmantadeva and weighing about 32 *Ratis* since their minting is known to have continued for centuries'. ⁷

relevant accounts show that the *Tātariya-Dirhams* were equal to one and a half of the local coins is not correct.

1 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, p. 197.

2 See p. 139, note 7 above.

3 Elliot and Dowson, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 162 ff. ; cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 146. 'The coin-name Balotra has not yet been traced in Indian sources'.

4 It is the correct form of the name, 'Altamsh' being a popular corruption (cf. C. J. Brown, *The Coins of India*, Calcutta, 1922, p. 70).

5 *Journ. Anc. Ind. Hist.*, Vol. I, p. 85 ; cf. also *Num. Ep. Stud.*, pp. 71-72.

6 *Journ. Anc. Ind. Hist.*, Vol. I, pp. 84-85.

7 Cf. Smith, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, Vol. I, pp. 243, 245, 247-48; Sircar, *Studies in Indian Coins*, p. 16 ; also *Journ. Anc. Ind. Hist.*, Vol. I, p. 85 and note 6.

INDIAN COIN-NAMES ASSOCIATED WITH PLACES

DEHLĪWĀL. In his work entitled *Tāju-l-Ma'āsir*, which was commenced in the year 602 A. H. (1205 A. D.), Hasan Nizāmī refers to the offering of 'an hundred lacs of *Dehlīwāl*' to Shamsu-d-dīn Īltutmish by the ruler of Sind, Malik Nāsiru-d-dīn Kubācha, through his son, and also to the deposit of 'five hundred lacs of *Dehlīwāl*' in the royal treasury of the former at the death of the latter.¹ The coin-name *Dehlīwāl* is also found written in Qutbu-d-dīn's 'inscription on the mosque at Dehlī'.²

According to Edward Thomas,³ the *Dehlīwāls* are the coins 'of Prthvirāja and his predecessors' bearing the Bull-and-Horseman device which 'were composed of a mixture of silver and copper' and 'of the one fixed weight of thirty-two *Ratis* or the measure of the old *Purāṇa* of Manu's day'. A. Cunningham⁴ also seems to be of the same opinion when he says that 'the billon coins of mixed silver and copper, which were adopted by all the later kings of the Tomaras and the Cauhāns are called *Diliwāls* or *Diliāls* by the early Muḥammadan writers'.⁵ V. Smith, C. J. Brown, H. Nelson Wright and many others⁶ agree with Thomas and Cunningham in taking *Dehlīwāl* to mean the Bull-and-Horseman type of coins that were current at the time when the Muḥammadans came to India. D. C. Sircar,⁷ however, takes *Dehlīwāl* to mean the coins, generally of billon, issued by the Sultans of the so-called Slave dynasty 'which bear, on one side, the well-known

1 Elliot and Dowson, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 242.

2 Cf. *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, New Series, Vol. II, 1866, p. 149, note. 1.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 149; cf. also his *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi* (henceforth *Chronicles*), London, 1871, p. 14.

4 *Op. cit.*, p. 89.

5 Besides the Tomaras and the Cauhāns, some Gāhaḍavāla kings also adopted this coin-type (cf. L. Gopal, *Early Medieval Coin-Types of Northern India*, Varanasi, 1966, p. 38. For discussions on this type of coins of the kings of these dynasties, see *ibid.*, pp. 40-49).

6 Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 257; Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 71; Nelson Wright, *The Coinage and Metrology of the Sultāns of Delhi*, Oxford, 1936, p. 72; P. N. Chopra, B. N. Puri and M. N. Das, *A Social, Cultural and Economic History of India*, Vol. II, Delhi, 1974, p. 119; cf. also P. C. Roy in *Journ. Num. Soc. Ind.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 50.

7 *Studies in Indian Coins*, p. 19.

device of the Cauhān horseman and, on the other, the Bull of Śiva as well as the royal name in Nāgarī characters'. Sircar, however, does not give any reason why he restricts the application of the coin-name *Dehliwāl* to only the coins of the Sultāns of the so-called Slave dynasty. It is possible that since he has taken Balotra coins of silver mentioned by 'Ūfī to mean the silver coins of the Bull-and-Horseman type bearing the name or title Sāmāntadeva, as we have seen above,¹ he takes *Dehliwāl* to indicate the coins, generally of billon, of the Sultāns of the so-called Slave dynasty, some of which bear on them the mint name *Dehli*² and help justifying the designation of the coins as *Dehliwāls*, which literally mean '(the coins) of Dehli' or 'Delhi coinage' as Smith³ interprets the expression.

There is, however, some difficulty in accepting Sircar's use of the expression *Dehliwāl* in a restricted sense, for, as Thomas and Cunningham pointed out⁴ long before, Muḥammad-bin-Sām, the Sultāns of the so-called Slave dynasty and their feudatories, Kubācha of Sind and others, in fact, imitated and adopted, with altered legends but unaltered weight, the Bull-and-Horseman type of coins which were in circulation when the Muḥammadans came to India, and, as Brown has shown,⁵ 'the Indian type known as *Dehliwāla*'... 'lasted till the reign of 'Alāu-d-dīn Mas'ūd' (1241-46 A. D.).

In this connection it may be mentioned that the Tomaras of Delhi and Ajmer are generally believed⁶ to have borrowed the Bull-and-Horseman type from the coins of the Śāhī dynasty of north-western Bhāratavarṣa which were very common in that region.⁷ Regarding the

1 See above, p. 152.

2 Cf. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

3 *Loc. cit.*

4 *Chronicles*, p. 14 ; Cunningham, *loc. cit.*

5 *Loc. cit.*

6 Thomas, *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, New Series, Vol. II, 1866, p. 149 ; Cunningham, *loc. cit.* ; cf. also L. Gopal, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

7 For recent discussions on this type of coins, see D. W. Mac Dowall, *Numismatic Chronicle*, Seventh Series, Vol. VIII, 1968, pp. 189-224 ; D. B. Pandey, *The Shahis of Afghanistan and the Punjab*, Delhi, 1973, pp. 179-210. J. Agrawal (*Journ. Num. Soc. Ind.*, Vol. XXXV, 1973, pp. 213-14) is of the opinion that 'Khvadayaka of the

origin of this type of coins among the Śāhī kings, interesting observations have been made by M. A. de Longperier, A. S. Altekar, Naji Ali Asil, and J. Walker, ¹ Walker describing such coins as propaganda pieces struck intentionally to win the approval of the Hindu population of the Kabul valley.

No Hindu name for the *Dehliwāls* is known, ² nor is known their exact value. According to Cunningham, ³ 'after the silver *Taṅkas* came into use in the reign of Iltutmish, the *Diliāls* became the *Jitals* or *Citals* of 40 and 50 to the *Taṅka*'. He observes: 'taking the silver in each as 2·8 grains, the fifty pieces would contain 120 grains of silver, and 50 times 50, or 2,500 grains of copper'. It is further stated by him that 'allowing 50 rates of copper, the quantity of this metal would be worth 50 of silver and the 50 *Diliāls* would therefore be worth 170 grains of silver, or just one silver *Taṅka*'.

Nelson Wright formerly accepted the view of Smith that the *Jital* was 'merely a continuation of the old Hindu *Dehliwāls* under the more popular and less exclusively metropolitan name', ⁴ and, on the basis of the results of an assay of twelve coins of the same type made by Thomas, opined that 'the *Dehliwāl* or *Jital* represented one-twelfth of the *Taṅkah*, or in other words was the equivalent of *Māṣa*'. ⁵ Later, however, he changed his opinion and, disagreeing with the view of Thomas ⁶ that 'these coins of mixed silver and copper were not definite sub-divisions of the *Taṅkah*, but relied for their value in everyday use on the determination in each case by buyers and sellers of the amount of silver in the coin', observed that the assay results 'go to show that the *Dehliwāl* contained—taking the average of 13 coins—from 7 to 8 grains of silver, but that the coin which Iltutmish introduced as his billon

coin legends represents Outbu-d-dīn Aibak'.

1 Longperier, *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, 1848, p. 187; Altekar, *Journ. Num. Soc. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 77f., 153 f.; Naji Ali Asil, *ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 152; Walker, *Numismatic Chronicle*, Sixth Series, Vol. VI, 1946, pp. 121 ff.; cf. also D. B. Pandey, *op. cit.*, pp. 189-90.

2 Cunningham, *loc. cit.*; Smith, *loc. cit.*

3 *Loc. cit.*

4 *Chronicles*, p. 47.

5 *Op. cit.*, p. 398.

6 *Chronicles*, p. 229.

unit, though it resembled closely the *Dehliwāl* in type and general appearance, represented a much lower intrinsic value'.¹ According to him, 'this may explain why the author of *Tāju-l-Ma'asir*, who lived in the first half of the seventh century A. H., refers his money value nearly exclusively to *Dehliwāls* while Minhāju-s-Sirāj who had more extensive and later experiences reckons his *Tolās* in *Jitals* and *Taṅkahs* of silver'.²

LĀRI or *LĀRIN* and *ḌĀBHOLI-LĀRIN*.³ European writers generally call it *Larin* or *Larym*, though some among them, particularly the earlier ones name it as *Lari*. The coin-name *Lāri* or *Lārin* is believed to have been derived from the place-name Lar (Lat. 27°27' north and Long. 54°13' east), the capital of Laristan (Carmanica Deserta) in Persia. In India, *Lārins* were issued by 'Ali Ādil Shāh II (1656-72 A. D.) of the Ādil Śāhī dynasty of Bijapur. As M. K. Husain puts it, 'why and in what circumstances he issued these coins of foreign pattern is not known; but this much is certain that they were not meant for the whole extent of his dominion'. According to Husain, 'since their territory embraced a large portion of the Konkan littoral, it seems that he caused *Lārins* to be struck in his own name to meet the local demand for this strange money, which might have become popular during all these years of the contact with Arab and Persia through trade'. In the Maratha records *Ḍābholi-Lārins* are found mentioned frequently and they are so called because they were manufactured at a place called Dabul, an important trade centre under the Bijapur kingdom where was stationed a governor to collect the customs.*

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 72.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 73.

3 See M. K. Husain's papers 'The Silver *Lārins* in *Journ. Num. Soc. Ind.*, Vol. XXIX, Part II, pp. 54-72 and 'Dapoli Hoard of Silver *Lārins*', *ibid.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 158-61; cf. also *ibid.*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 193-94.

* Read 'Telugu' for 'Telegu' in p. 144, line 18, 'p. 134, note 63' for 'p. 134 note 63' in p. 144, note 8, last line and '1255 A. D.' for '1265 A. D.' in p. 147, note 4, above.

IMPACT OF THE UPANIṢADS ON WESTERN THOUGHT

HIRANMAY BANERJEE

THE ANCIENT UPANIṢADS ARE the earliest specimens of speculative thought of mankind and yet they reached a very high level of excellence. Small wonder, they acquired a prestige unequalled by any other system of Indian thought. They were, however, written in Sanskrit and so they remained inaccessible not only to the general mass of the Indian people, but also to outsiders. It is understandable, therefore, that they had to wait for centuries to be able to produce an impact on the mind of the Western people.

The first step towards that consummation was taken by Prince Dārā Shikoh, the eldest son of emperor Shāh Jahān. By a strange stroke of luck, his attention was drawn to the Upaniṣads. He admired their contents so much that he decided to get a number of them translated into Persian in 1656. But the time was not yet ripe for the Upaniṣads to make their journey to the West. It was again the language barrier which stood in the way.

Luckily, the manuscript of the Persian version drew the attention of a French scholar in the person of Anquetil Duperron (1731-1805) in course of his sojourn in India. He carried a set of these manuscripts to Paris and brought out a translation in French of the text of some of the Upaniṣads in 1775. It follows, therefore, that the attention of Western scholars was drawn earlier to the Upaniṣads than even the *Abhijñānaśakuntala* of Kālidāsa which was for the first time translated into a European language, namely English, by Sir William Jones in 1791. Unfortunately, this French translation of the Upaniṣads did not appear to attract the attention of Western scholars presumably because French was then little understood beyond the frontiers of France proper. Napoleon's empire was yet to be born. Duperron got over this difficulty by producing a Latin version of his translation bearing the title *Oupnekhat ou Theologia et Philosophia*. The book was published in two volumes from Paris in 1801-02. As Latin was

understood all over the continent of Europe, this version effectively removed the language barrier that stood in the way of a contact between the Upaniṣads and Western scholars. It thus created the condition favourable for the impact.

It appears that the impact was first strongly felt in Germany, probably because German scholars were comparatively more receptive to Indian thought than others. The first indication of this impact comes from the words of appreciation expressed in superlative terms by Arthur Schopenhauer (1788-1860). He considered the discovery of the Upaniṣads the greatest privilege which the Western mind had been admitted to in the early part of the nineteenth century. He observes : 'the access to which¹ by means of the Upaniṣad is in my eyes, the greatest privilege which this still young century (1818) may claim before all [previous] centuries'.²

What struck Schopenhauer is the radically different approach of the ancient Upaniṣads to the problem of being. The Western mind was deeply saturated with the theistic conception of God as developed both in Judaism and Christianity. The theology embodied in them preached that God is endowed with personality and He is separate from His creation. He is omniscient and omnipresent, but He is not immanent in the Universe, which He created as an outside agency. In contrast, the ancient Upaniṣads propounded a theory that the power that controls the universe is present in it and regulates it from within. It is both the material and efficient cause of the universe. It is an impersonal force and not only pervades the universe, but also guides it as an immanent creative force. These facts are too well known to be established by quotation of texts.

This is indeed a radical departure from the concept of God as it developed in the mind of the Western thinkers who had been nurtured in the theology of Judaism and Christianity. That this feature of the

1 I. e. the Vedas.

2 *The World as Will and Idea* [Eng. tran. of *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung* by R. B. Haldane and J. Kemp, 3 Vols., London, 1883.—Ed.], 1st Ed., Preface, p. xiii. [*The World as Will and Representation* (Colombo, 1958) is another authentic Eng. tran. of the same work in 2 Vols. by E. F. J. Payne.—Ed.]; [cf. also *The Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. I, Introduction, p. lix.—Ed.]

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Upaniṣads is what moved the mind of Schopenhauer most will be evident from the following observation made by him :

‘And oh, how thoroughly is the mind here washed clean of all early engrafted Jewish superstitions, and of all philosophy that cringes before those superstitions ! In the whole world there is no study, except that of the originals, so beneficial and so elevating as that of the Oupnekhat. It has been the solace of my life, it will be the solace of my death !’¹

It appears, however, that the pantheism as developed in the Upaniṣads hardly exercised any influence in the development of his thought, as embodied in his book *The World as Will and Idea*. He propounded the theory that the will to live makes the individuals cling to life, even though it has little to offer, which is worthwhile living for. Here he is, evidently, following the footsteps of the Buddha. Like him, he had a preference for an idealistic view of the universe and, like him, he entertained a very pessimistic view of life. Like him again, he recommended the attainment of a state of desirelessness.

In contrast, it appears that the Upaniṣads found a more congenial soil in the mind of his compatriot Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph Von Schelling (1775-1854). They not only excited his admiration, but also influenced his thoughts profoundly. This proposition is based on some facts. For one thing, we come across enough evidence to indicate that Schelling got access to the Upaniṣads and fell in love with them. Secondly, the thoughts contained in them, particularly the pantheistic conception of the universe, appear to have shaped his philosophy. This deduction is based on the solid fact that his deliberations led to the formation of a pantheistic theory of the universe for the first time in Europe. It may be disputed that, even before his advent, there were Western philosophers who also propounded pantheistic ideas. It will be our endeavour to show that what they preached was rather theistic in outlook than pantheistic and, therefore, the above contention will not stand scrutiny.

There is good evidence to show that Schelling felt so much interested in the Upaniṣads that he collected translations of their contents.

1 Cf. *The Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. I, Introduction, p. lxi.

This information comes from the reminiscences recorded by Friedrich Max Müller (1823-1900). It appears that at the time Schelling was a professor at Berlin Max Müller was a young scholar attending his lectures. It is stated that during that period Schelling took over some translated passages of the Upaniṣads from this young student. We may listen to what Max Müller has to say about this. He observes :

‘My real love for Sanskrit literature was first kindled by the Upaniṣads. It was in the year 1844, when attending Schelling’s lectures at Berlin, that my attention was drawn to those ancient theosophic treatises, and I still possess my [collations of the] Sanskrit MSS. which had then just arrived at Berlin, the Chamber’s collection, and my copies of commentaries, and commentaries on commentaries, which I made at that time. Some of my translations which I left with Schelling, I have never been able to recover,...’¹

That Schelling fell in love with the Upaniṣads to such a degree as to praise them in superlative terms, even as Schopenhauer did, will be established by another comment by Max Müller in course of the same Introduction quoted above.² The relevant lines run as follows : ‘That Schelling and his school, [should] use rapturous language about the Upaniṣads might carry little weight with that large class of philosophers by whom everything beyond the clouds of their own horizon is labelled mysticism’.

The stage has been now set to trace out briefly the pantheistic elements in Schelling’s philosophy. There was a time when Schelling enjoyed tremendous prestige. There is, however, at present a growing tendency to neglect him. Will Durrant has altogether omitted him in his *Story of Philosophy*. Russell has also neglected him in his work *A History of Western Philosophy*.^{*} Not that this has been done deliberately.

The reason is that Schelling’s philosophy never matured into a final shape. He has changed his views over and over again and unfortunately

1 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, Introduction, p. lxxv.

2 *Ibid.*, p. lxxii.

* [Expanded form of the lectures delivered from 1941 to 1943 at the Barnes Foundation in Philadelphia, U. S. A.—Ed.]

they are so disconnected that the thoughts embodied in them can not be co-ordinated into a coherent system. His philosophy of nature took shape in one of his earlier books, namely, *Ideas Towards a Philosophy of Nature*.^{*} In the second phase, he wanted to establish the identity of the world of perception and the world of thought.¹ He developed here a strong attraction for transcendental knowledge. In the third stage, we find him leaning towards an abstract type of monism comparable to Plato's Realism.² Evidently, his thought did not evolve into a continuous coherent system and changed form again and again.

Even so, there is justification for a reference to his philosophy of nature. It is here that an attempt has been made to develop a pantheistic view of reality for the first time in Western philosophy. His theory seeks to impose on the apparently pluralistic world of nature a unity by the introduction of a new principle which he conceives as the World Soul.³ This is a significant departure from the general line of thought adopted in Western philosophy which tends to be theologically monistic.

Admittedly, some of his predecessors built up systems which contained some elements of pantheism. A little study in depth, however, will show that these are minor elements and the bias towards a theistic view persisted. The philosophers that deserve mention in this connection are Giordano Bruno, Nicolas Malebranche and Benedict (Baruch) Spinoza. Their views have been labelled as pantheistic by some historians. We may see how far this is borne out by facts.

Giordano Bruno belonged to the sixteenth century** when Scholasticism still held its sway over European thought. He, however, believed in free thinking and was not afraid of giving publicity to deductions which he considered to be sound. He had to pay dearly for this courage. Martyrdom was forced on him by burning him on a stake on the charge that he had preached anti-Christian doctrines.

* [Eng. tran. of the work *Ideen Zu einer Philosophie der Natur*, Leipzig, 1797.—Ed.]

1 Cf. *The System of Transcendental Idealism* [Eng. tran. of the work *System des transzendentalen Idealismus*, Tübingen, 1800.—Ed.]

2 Cf. *Exposition of the True Relation of Nature Philosophy to Amended Fichtean View*.

3 Cf. *On World Soul* [Eng. tran. of the work *Von der Weltseele*, Hamburg, 1798.—Ed.]

** [1548-1600.—Ed.]

In substance, Bruno held the view that God is connected with His creation, each part of which draws sustenance from Him. He does not, however, conceive God as the only substance in the universe. He admitted the existence of other substances as well which he considered to be eternal. He called them monads. He also believed that man's soul is a monad and is immortal and God is the King of monads. These details of his system are sufficient to indicate that his philosophy does not really conform to the features of a pantheistic system. If God is conceived as a separate monad from other monads, he ceases to function as a truly pervasive principle as is typical in pantheism. His theory is more comparable to a theistic interpretation of reality.

Malebranche (1638-1715) was a French clergyman. He adopted an epistemological approach to philosophy. He assumes that the subject and the object lying outside it and forming part of nature are distinctly different in quality and, therefore, in an act of knowledge, there can be no direct contact between them. If so, how can we explain the fact that we can pick up knowledge about the outside world? He explains that this is possible through the intervention of a third agency which, according to him, is God. He is omniscient and though the inner world of mind is different from the outer world of nature, He sustains both of them and that is why knowledge is possible.

It is obvious that this does not conform to a truly pantheistic view. Pantheistic elements have become mixed up here with theistic views. In fact, it explains the universe in terms of three distinct principles. It bears similarity partly with the view of Berkeley* and partly with that of Spinoza. He could not conceive God as a pervading principle which embraces both mind and nature and sustains them. His Christian conscience perhaps stood in the way.

Spinoza (1632-77) calls basic reality 'Substance' and equates it with God. Substance is conceived as having two attributes, thought and extension, and these two attributes have many modes. He explains the universe in terms of these basic concepts. Thought and extension are different qualities of the same substance, but run parallel to each other. Although they have no direct link, they can work in a co-ordi-

* [George Berkeley (1685-1753).—Ed.]

nated manner because they are the parallel qualities of the same substance. The world of nature is brought into being by the diversity of the modes which are imposed on these qualities. He holds the view that God operates within the universe, but is not prepared to admit that He is present in the world we perceive through our senses.

To make this point clear he conceives nature in two parts. He calls the first part *Natura Naturans* and thinks that this is the creative factor operating in nature. This is perhaps comparable to the concept of *elan vital* in the philosophy of Bergson.* Spinoza admits that God is present in this part. The other part he names *Natura Naturata* which is the same as the inert material part. He has kept it separate from God. It is not unlikely that Bergson drew his inspiration for his vitalistic theory of evolution from this. Be that as it may, to make his position clear, we may profitably quote Spinoza's explanatory comments on the question of immanence of God in His creation.

'I hold', he observes in one of his letters to Oldenberg 'that God is of all things the cause immanent,...'¹ Lest however, this should create the impression that he thereby identifies inert matter with God, he hastens to point out in the same letter—'The supposition of some, that I endeavour to prove in the *Tractus Theologico Politicus* the unity of God and Nature (meaning by the latter a certain mass or corporeal matter), is wholly erroneous'.

One point emerges from these observations. The criterion of a pantheistic view of reality is that the universe is conceived as a combination of co-ordinated parts in which the unifying principle pervades the parts. This feature is absent in Spinoza's system. For, one thing, he conceives thought and extension as different and incapable of interacting on each other. This imposes a rigid division in the world of being. Then he tries to explain the obviously present co-ordination of activities between them, by assuming them as attributes of God who,

* [Henry Bergson (1859-1941).—Ed.]

1 [R. H. M. Elwes, *The Chief Works of Benedict De Spinoza* (Translated from the Latin with an Introduction), London, 1883-84 ; New York, 1951, Vol. II, p. 298 ; cf. also A. Wolf, *The Correspondence of Spinoza*, London, 1928, p. 342.—Ed.]

therefore, holds here an analogous position to the doctrine of pre-established harmony of Leibnitz.

This imposes a somewhat dualistic character on his philosophy. Then again it appears that Spinoza concedes the presence of God in nature but with some degree of mental reservation. He believes that God functions in the creative part of nature, but not in the material part, which is an inconsistent position. It is not unlikely that his theistic prejudice under the influence of Jewish theology prevented him from evolving a consistent view of reality. Be that as it may, Spinoza's philosophy evidently lacks the essential features of pantheism, that is the pervasive quality of God.*

In contrast, as mentioned already, we find that Schelling in his philosophy of nature propounded a system which contains all the essential features of a pantheistic view of the universe. This theory has taken shape in two books written by him, namely *Ideas Towards a Philosophy of Nature* and *On the World Soul*.

Schelling traces three factors operating in nature. The first is the life principle which is creative, but works at a very slow pace, which indicates that it has to fight against a hostile force. He has not, however, clearly defined what the nature of this hostile force is, but mentions that it involves the creative force in efforts to secure adaptation of means to an end. It follows that the hostile force is the environment. The different kinds of species have evolved through this process of adaptation. Here nature aims at the preservation of the species. The individuals of a species are the means to that end and play a secondary role. This part of nature comprises man, the lower animals as well as plants.

The second factor is the material part of nature. It is not creative and is composed of many disconnected particulars. They only exist together in space under the force of gravitation. Though differing in nature, life and matter, however, have some affinity. Like a living organism, inert matter also becomes active in special circumstances. In this context, Schelling has compared the process of biological reproduction with chemical action between different elements. He has also noted

* [For a detailed study, cf. M. S. Modak, *Spinoza and the Upaniṣads—A Comparative Study*, Nagpur University, 1970.—Ed.]

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further points of comparison like the excitability of a living being with electricity and the activities of the senses with magnetism.

The third factor is that inert matter and vital force can act and react on each other. Life can find expression only through matter. Corresponding to vital activities which indicate the presence of a purpose, there is a 'dynamic order' pervading the material part of nature. From these facts he has drawn the inference that both matter and life have stemmed from a common source. It is only reasonable, therefore, to assume the existence of a third force to sustain both the life force and matter and to regulate their interaction. He calls this third force 'the World Soul' of which matter and life are organic parts. Their close affinity will be apparent from the fact that the same rational thought pervades both. The rational principle which guides our intellectual process also controls the activities of nature. That explains why the qualities of an object are perceived by the subject and the mind can comprehend matter. Intelligence thus pervades both mind and matter.

Schelling's philosophy of nature thus builds up a system which can be considered as a truly pantheistic view of the universe. The 'World Soul' as conceived by him is like an organism which has a body and mind held together in organic unity. According to this view, reality is comparable to a gigantic living evolving system in which every part takes its place and subserves the whole.

Some significant facts emerge out of this account. For, one thing, it is established that the so-called pantheistic theories that were propounded by philosophers in the West before Schelling were not truly pantheistic in character. Secondly, we notice that it is in Schelling's philosophy of nature that a system was evolved which contains the characteristic elements of a pantheistic view of the universe. Thirdly, there is good evidence to show that Schelling had access to the texts of the ancient Upaniṣads and that he admired their contents. On this background, it will not be unreasonable to assume that Schelling had been influenced by the philosophy of the ancient Upaniṣads.

ASPECTS OF FOLKLORE IN SANSKRIT

SURES CHANDRA BANERJI

IT IS AN ERRONEOUS IMPRESSION that Sanskrit literature is full of sacerdotal rites and practices and love-intrigues of royal life. This literature does not depict merely the activities of the patricians of the society. It also touches the grass roots, and the plebeian or proletarian atmosphere is clear to the discerning reader. Interestingly, enough material on folklore is preserved in the Sanskrit literature, vedic, epic and classical. It is not possible, within the compass of such a short paper, to give even a peripheral account of folklore in Sanskrit in all its aspects and, hence, we restrict our discussion here to only a brief outline of the same.

We know that, even now, in England, where people are far more advanced than us in material achievements and intellectual powers the number 'thirteen' is regarded as dangerously inauspicious. Writing about superstitions in England a few centuries ago, an author observed that the screech of an owl was looked upon as more dangerous than the roar of a lion. The Aryans, among whom the *Rgveda* originated, were a cultured people who reached a high degree of civilisation. But, they were not free from crude, naive and superstitious beliefs. The factory of human mind never stopped manufacturing ideas about imps, ghosts, spirits, weird things and activities of gods and demi-gods. It is, however, difficult to say how much of popular belief in India originated among the Aryans and how much was borrowed from the aborigines with whom they freely mixed.

Bad dreams appear to have been looked upon with so great fear in the *Rgveda*¹ that *duḥsvapna* is deified and implored to save the

1 VIII. 47.15. Cf. *Rāmāyaṇa* (II. 4.17 ; III. 73.33 ; V. 27.6 ; VI. 35.28), according to which the sight of the following in a dream is ominous : monkey, beating by black and yellow women, wearing a garland of red flowers, drying up of an ocean, cracking of the earth, withering of trees, smoke emitted from mountain-peaks.

worshipper from bad dreams. The making of a garland or a neck-band in dream is regarded as particularly ominous.

The belief in evil spirits is widespread in the *Rgveda*.¹ Some are believed to assume the guise of beasts and birds like the dog, owl, hawk, etc. Some have the form even of roots (*mūradeva*). They cause illness to human beings and cattle, loss of milk in cows, obstruction of the flow of rivers and rainfall, etc.

The funeral place is supposed to be haunted by evil spirits. A curious practice is to draw a circle round the people attending the funeral rite ; this is supposed to ward off the evil spirits and ensure long life to the people within the circle. The malevolent *Rgvedic* demigoddesses are *Kṛtyā* and *Nirṛti*.² Among the mischiefs, supposed to be created by them, are estrangement between the husband and the wife, turning people blue or red and even causing death. Pigeons are believed to be agents of *Nirṛti*.

Madhuvidyā is supposed to transform poison into nectar. Recitation of the name of ninety-nine rivers is supposed to counteract the effects of a poison.³

The disease, *harimāṇa* (jaundice ?) is believed to be transferable to parrots and turmeric.⁴ Certain rivers are believed to heal the malady called *śipada*.⁵

Certain passages of the *Rgveda* reflect the belief in divine grace effecting rejuvenation.⁶

The cry of the bird *kapiñjala* (partridge, heath-cock or sparrow) to the right of the house is supposed to foil the attempt of thieves and to ensure the birth of male children according to a passage of the *Rgveda*.⁷ The owl is regarded as an agent of Yama ; its cry is ominous.⁸

The *kimīdins* of the *Atharvaveda* are evil spirits causing illness or

1 VII. 104.15 ff. ; X. 14.9, etc.

2 I. 38 ; X. 85.28 ff. ; X. 114.2ff., X. 165.1, etc.

3 See *Rgveda*, I. 191.9-10 ; VII. 50.1, etc.

4 *Ibid.*, I. 50.12.

5 *Ibid.*, VII. 50.4.

6 I. 110 and 116.10 ; IV. 33.3 ; V. 74.5 ; X. 39.4, 7, etc.

7 II. 42.3.

8 *Rgveda*, X. 165.4.

loss of cow's milk.¹ Of sorcery and witchcraft we have a lot in the *Atharvaveda*.² In a passage of the same veda, demons are believed to attack a bride or try to enjoy her.³ If wood and straw, hung up for sacrifice, are found moving their presence is certain. The *Atharvaveda*⁴ mentions a number of amulets counteracting the effect of a curse, healing diseases, nullifying *abhicāra*, bringing people under control, etc. A charm against snake-poison is met with in the same veda⁵ from which we learn that the burial of certain articles at cross-roads causes the destruction of enemies.⁶ With a view to warding off evil spirits likely to attack a bridal procession under a huge tree, a passage of the *Atharvaveda* (XIV. 2-9) is recited.

In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, a person, desiring a vigorous son, is asked not to take food in the presence of his wife.⁷ According to the same work, dead bodies are to be weighed in a balance to ascertain the amount of merit or sin of the departed soul.⁸

The *Kauśikasūtra* records some practices in connection with symbolical and mimetic magic. For example, the breaking into two of a blade of grass, flung at the enemy, symbolises the breaking of the enemy's armed forces into two.⁹ The burning of a chameleon, which is killed, symbolises the burning of a dead man¹⁰; this ensures the killing of an enemy. It is very ominous if a crow or pigeon strikes a person with something dropped from its beak.¹¹ The appearance of teeth in the upper jaw of a child earlier than in the lower one is supposed to spell danger to the lives of parents. The *Kauśikasūtra* prescribes¹² rites to avert the danger.

1 I. 7.1 ; II. 25 ; III. 9 ; VIII. 4.24, etc.

2 I. 2.27 ; II. 11.5 ; VI. 13.1-2, etc.

3 IV. 37.11.

4 IV. 20 ; V. 28 ; VIII. 5 ; XIX. 34.1, etc.

5 V. 13.

6 V. 31.8 ; XX. 8.

7 X. 5.2.9.

8 II. 2.7.33.

9 I. 6.10.

10 XL. 7.39 ff., 54 ff.

11 LI. 7 ff ; XLVI. 4.6 ff.

12 XLVI. 43-46.

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According to some *Gṛhyasūtras*,¹ a bride is to be tested as follows. Clods of earth, collected from a sacrificial altar, a pool of water, a cow-pen, a furrow, a road-crossing, a gambling place, a cemetery and a barren spot, are to be placed before her. If she chooses any one of the first four, she is fit. Otherwise, she is to be rejected. To enable the departed one to escape the two fierce hounds guarding the gates of Yama's abode, according to the *Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra*,² a cow is to be sacrificed, its limbs cut to pieces and such limbs are to be placed on the corresponding limbs of a dead body. In some *Gṛhyasūtras*,³ the following events are stated to be ominous: a pigeon flying into a house, a bird voiding dung on one's body, a drop of water falling on one's body under a cloudless sky, a cow suckling another cow, quivering of the eyes, sight of a solitary jackal, appearance of an ant-hill in the house.

The *Āpastamba Gṛhyasūtra*⁴ ordains that, in order to ensure steadfastness in a companion, pupil or servant, a person should pour his wine into the horn of a living animal and sprinkle it thrice round the person with a *mantra* when he is asleep. According to some *Gṛhyasūtras*,⁵ one should offer, in the *Śravaṇā* ceremony, the following articles to appease snakes: comb, collyrium, flowers, unguents and other articles of adornment.

According to some *Dharmasūtras*,⁶ the following practices cause harm: speaking to others about a cow feeding its calf, crossing a rope with which a calf is tied, counting of birds in a flock.

In the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*,⁷ we find the belief that certain physical marks forebode certain events. For example, a black mole indicates the wife's death. A particular line on the wife's palm indicates the husband's death.

From the *Rāmāyaṇa*⁸ we learn that the following are ominous

1 Cf. *Gobhila*, II. 1.3-8; *Āśvalāyana*, I.5.4-6; *Kāṭhaka*, 14.4-9.

2 *Āśvalāyana*, IV. 3. 19-21.

3 Cf. *Gobhila*, III. 3.29-34; *Āpastamba*, VIII. 23.8-10.

4 VIII. 23.6.

5 Cf. *Pāraskara*, II. 14-17; *Āpastamba*, VII. 18.11.

6 *Gautama*, I, 9.23-24; *Āpastamba*, I. 31.19.

7 III. 2.52-53.

8 III. 23.10; IV. 34.32; IV. 35.33-34.

in a war : sight of jackals, a torso dropping before a person in the battle-field, sight of a fierce figure peeping into the houses of people. Among omens and portents are also the following : camels, asses and mules, with their hairs standing erect, shedding tears, unnatural birth of animals, e. g. a cow bearing an ass, a mongoose bringing forth mice, etc., birds flying fearfully towards the sun. The following are some of the auspicious signs : pleasant wind, directions looking pleasant, throbbing of the left arm or eye of a woman, etc.

Superstitious ideas and naive beliefs are found in the *Mahābhārata* too. For example, Bhīṣma tells (VI. 112.11) us that the trembling of the image of a deity or its shedding tears is ominous. The following are ominous according to this epic ; a she-jackal howling towards the south, carnivorous birds like vulture falling on temples, horses shedding tears, birds like pigeons and deer weeping with face towards the sun. The cry of birds like *krauñca* and *mayūra* to the right of a person is auspicious.

Manu (VI. 50) ordains that a *parivrājaka* (wandering mendicant) should not earn anything by explaining to them results of omens. This implies that belief in omens and portents was widespread in those times. Trial by ordeal, laid down in *Smṛtiśāstra*, reflects crude popular belief. For example, in the administration of the ordeal of *viṣa*, poison of a specified nature and quantity should be caused to be taken by the accused in the last watch of the night. On the following day he will be left without food. If he does not show the effect of poison, he will be declared innocent.

Kauṭilya (*Arthaśāstra*, XIII. 2. 21-35) provides that the illusion of danger from evil spirits is to be created in the enemy's capital. Then the enemy king will come out for appeasing them. Taking advantage of this situation the other king will get him slain. Other instances of exploiting the naive beliefs for the advantage of the king are furnished by the *Arthaśāstra*, V. 2. 41. Thus, the *Arthaśāstra* bears out the prevalence of superstitious ideas which were sometimes used for political gain.

Magical practices for obtaining various objects are also recorded in the *Arthaśāstra*, V. 2. 59. Some of these are : for winning the love of a man or woman – *saṁvanana* (IV. 4. 14 ; IV. 5. 1, etc.) ; for acquisition

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of imperishable wealth—*akṣaya-hiraṇya-karman*; for gaining royal favour—*rājadvārika*; for causing diseases to enemies—*ari-vyādhikara*; for long life—*āyusya*; for getting a son—*putriya*; for rendering a country free from fear—*deśa-pīḍā-paha* (V. 6. 2) and *amitrā-paha*.

The branch of knowledge, related to such rites, is called *jambhaka-vidyā* which requires the recitation of certain *mantras* and roots and herbs (IV. 4. 14). Another branch, called *mānava-vidyā*, teaches rites against dacoits and adulterers. It is within the province of this *vidyā* to achieve the following: automatic opening of gates, inducing sleep in other persons, making oneself invisible, winning a woman's love (IV. 5. 1-6).

The *Vāyu Purāṇa* (LXIX. 271) refers to the belief that goblins haunt an empty house, a house for delivery of babies and a shelter on a cremation ground. Chapter CCCXV of the *Agni Purāṇa* lays down rules about black magic called *stambhana* (paralysing) *mohana* (causing delusion), *vaśīkaraṇa* (control of others), *vidveṣaṇa* (causing hatred), *uccāṭana* (expulsion) and *māraṇa* (killing). A few such practices are stated here. On a birch-leaf the figure of a tortoise is to be drawn and different *mantras* placed on its face and feet. The name of the intended person is to be written on its back. Then the performer will scatter the water and remembering the enemy strike the ground with his left foot. This will ensure *stambhana*. The death of the enemy can be ensured by writing the name of the enemy on a birch-leaf and then worshipping it in a funeral ground with the *mantra* : *Oṃ kuṅjari brahmāṇi*. Chapter CXL of this *Purāṇa* contains the names of herbs, drugs and other articles supposed to possess mysterious potentialities. For instance, a mark on the forehead with some drugs is believed to enchant the three worlds. Chapter CXLII lays down some incantations for achieving various objects, e. g. rendering the body proof against injuries caused by weapons. There is a process by which the birth of male or female child in the womb may be foretold.

Several *Smṛti* digests, chiefly on the authority of the *Kālikā Purāṇa*, prescribe *Śabarotsava* on the last day of *Durgā-pūjā*. It consists in the people, covered with leaves and besmeared with mud, throwing dust and mud at one another and uttering abusive language.

The *Harṣacarita* mentions certain Tāntric rites and practices, e. g.

abhicāra,¹ circles tinged with various colours,² drawing of the mystical figure *svastika*,³ offer of blood to propitiate goblins called *Vetāla*,⁴ supposed to occupy dead bodies, application of collyrium to eyes to attract people,⁵ use of white mustard seeds for warding off evil spirits,⁶ prayer called *mahāmāyūrī* for protection against evil spirits,⁷ etc. Some of the portents, according to the *Harṣacarita*, are images of deities emitting smoke from hair,⁸ howl of female jackals,⁹ breaking of an umbrella, etc.

In the *Kādambarī*¹⁰ too we find some popular beliefs and practices of which a few are noted here. In certain places (pp. 106, 339) white mustard seeds appear to be used as a talisman for children. In the same context, the use of ghee, mixed with ashes, is referred to. The burning of powdered sloughs of serpents and horns of rams, mixed with ghee (of goat's milk), is regarded as auspicious (p. 120). The touching of water and fire by visitors is believed to save a newly born baby from evil eyes (p. 121). The *antardhāna-mantra*, believed to be capable of making a person invisible, is referred to at one place (p. 339). *Vyāghra-nakha* or tiger's nail, set in gold and worn round the neck, is supposed to protect a child against the evil eye (p. 39).

The *Mālatīmādhava*, a drama by Bhavabhūti, mentions certain popular beliefs and practices. In Act IV there is reference to the offering of fresh flesh to win the favour of the ghouls of the cemetery. *Cāmuṇḍā*,* a Tāntric form of goddess *Durgā*, is believed to be pleased with a human virgin. Accordingly, in Act V, young *Mālatī* is about to be sacrificed before this goddess.

1 Ed. P.V. Kane, 1928, p. 23, line 1.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 47, line 3.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 50, line 25.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 50, line 14.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 10, line 21.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 25, last line.

7 *Ibid.*, p. 21, line 27.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 27, line 20.

9 *Ibid.*, p. 27, line 19.

10 References are to M. R. Kale's edition (1928) of the work.

* [Cf. J. N. Banerjea, *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, 2nd Ed., University of Calcutta, 1950, pp. 504-05, 507.—Ed.]

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The *Kathāsaritsāgāra*¹ is a repository of popular beliefs and practices. Demons are represented as flying in the air (Vol. II, p. 203) and polluting it (Vol. II, p. 299). Magic powers of spells of witches, derived from the eating of human flesh are supposed to enable a person to fly in the air (Vol. II, p. 103). A mendicant, performing magical rites on a corpse, can bring it back to life and can use the animated body as he likes (Vol. II, p. 62). A banyan tree on a cemetery, when duly worshipped, can reveal miracles (Vol. II, p. 233). For the protection of a delivery house or birth-chamber, the mother and the baby, against evil influences, the following measures are mentioned (Vol. II, p. 161) : windows covered with *arka* and *śamī* plants, various weapons to be kept hanging in the room, burning of jewel-lamps, use of charms, spells and incantations by conjurers. Charms for changing the shape of human beings are referred to (Vol. II, p. 20). A vessel, a stick and the shoes, belonging to *asura* Maya, are stated to have the following magic powers (Vol. I, p. 22). Whatever food is wished in the vessel it will be available immediately. Whatever is written with the stick proves to be true. By wearing the shoes one acquires the power of flying through the air. There are references to a dead fish laughing aloud (Vol. I, p. 46) and a magic chariot flying through the air (Vol. I, p. 80). There is a reference to a Yakṣiṇī (Vol. III, p. 187) making horns grow on the heads of human beings who are led into fire and whose half burnt bodies are devoured by it. If a person sneezes, he will die if somebody does not say : 'God bless you' (Vol. III, p. 30). An elixir, prepared with the meat of a wild goat, is believed to ensure the birth of a son (Vol. III, p. 218). A piece of deer-skin, with a charm attached, is believed to keep off bees (Vol. VI, p. 114). The kick of a special type of horse to a person is believed to transport him immediately to another place (Vol. VIII, p. 57). Certain charms are believed to enable a person to lay aside his body (Vol. IV, p. 26). There is a reference to the belief in the change of sex by charms or drugs (Vol. VII, p. 46). A person is believed to be able to acquire by certain means the capacity for understanding the language of beasts and birds (Vol. VII, p. 3).*

1 References are to C. H. Tawney's Eng. tran. (reprinted with notes by N. M. Penzer).

* I thank Dr. Samaresh Bandyopadhyay for some of his valuable suggestions.

EARLY BUDDHIST CONCEPT OF MATTER

DIPAK KUMAR BARUA

DEFINITION OF MATTER. IN THE PRESENT DISCUSSION terms like 'matter' and 'material qualities' have been used to mean the Pali word *rūpaṃ*, which is, according to early or the Theravāda Buddhism, represented by the Pali literature as one of the four things in the ultimate sense or *Paramatthā*; others being consciousness or *cittaṃ*, mental properties or *cetasikaṃ* and *nibbānaṃ*.¹ This philosophic term *rūpaṃ* is connected with the word *ruppati* meaning 'to change' (due to cold, heat, etc). As one says that matter changes its form or passes from one form to another, one means that it assumes different shapes and figures. So any one of these may be called *saṅkhāra-paṇṇatti* and not *rūpaṃ* as such and is inferentially known in any one of the sequel of thought-processes. Hence the English word 'matter' suits well for *rūpaṃ*. Thus, *nāma-rūpaṃ* may better be rendered as 'mind and body' than as 'name and form'. It is, however, to be noted that the term *rūpaṃ* is used in its generic sense when it is rendered as 'matter', while in its specific sense it conveys the 'material qualities'. In popular parlance, however, it means 'form', although in a more restricted field *rūpaṃ* implies simply 'visible form' in the sense of a certain coloured surface.²

Buddhadatta in his *Rūpārūpavibhāga* and Anuruddha in his *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha* and other authors of the Abhidhamma treatises have dealt with *rūpaṃ* rather from the subjective point of view than from the objective, while in the *Dhammasaṅgani*, the first book of the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka* and a manual of Buddhist psychological ethics, *rūpaṃ* has been considered both from the subjective and objective standpoints. But it should be noted in this connection that when *rūpaṃ*

1 Cf. *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha* of Anuruddha, ed. Revatadhammathera, Varanasi, 1965, I. 2.

2 *Compendium of Philosophy : being a translation made for the first time from the original Pali of the Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha* by Shwe Zan Aung (henceforth *Comp. Phil.*), ed. Mrs. Rhys. Davids, London, 1929, pp. 154-55.

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is objectively viewed, it should be considered in its different stages or forms of evolution. According to C. A. F. Rhys Davids, *rūpaṃ* may be used at least in three senses. Thus it may also occur as the general name for the objects of the sense of sight and so it is visual form as opposed to that which is sound, odour, etc. *Rūpaṃ* in its wider sense due to the popular generalisation and representative function of the sense of sight and even as a philosophic concept may have stood for 'things seen', as contrasted with the unseen world. Again *rūpaṃ* appears together with its opposites, *a-rūpaṃ*, to signify those two other planes of temporal existence. Then one must come to *rūpaṃ* in the sensuous plane of beings, or at least to such portion of that plane as it is concerned with the human beings and to its distribution in each human economy. However, in the words of C. A. F. Rhys Davids: '*Rūpaṃ* would ... appear at first sight to be a name for the external world or for the extended universe, as contrasted with the unextended, mental, psychical or subjective universe'.¹ In fact, the non-conscious or physical aspect of life may be denoted by the category of *rūpaṃ*. Also, the four primary elements² or *mahābhūta-rūpāṇi* are, in the Pali texts, so defined as to meet both the concrete and the abstract aspects of matter, which may, therefore, be considered both as substance and quality. As for example, earth is defined as that which possesses hardness for its essential property and all which are hard substances, and earth may be treated as belonging to one's organism as well as which belongs to the external world. In this sense, the bone represents the earth belonging to life, while rock represents earth belonging to the external world. The same is the case with the other three elements. Hence the Buddhist concept of matter reveals a tendency to proceed from the concrete to the abstract.

EXPOSITION OF MATTER. The treatment of matter or *rūpaṃ*, in the Pali Abhidhamma, has been made with respect to the exposition or *samuddeso*, classification or *vibhāgo*, origins or *samuṭṭhānaṃ*, groups or

1 C. A. F. Rhys Davids, *A Buddhist Manual of Psychological Ethics* (Introductory Essay), Section: 'On the Inquiry into *Rūpaṃ* (Form), and the Buddhist Theory of Sense'.

2 [As we shall see below], the four primary or essential elements or essential material qualities are *paṭhavī*, *āpo*, *tejo* and *vāyo*. It should be noted that *vyom* or space of the Brahmanical philosophy has been excluded in Buddhism as it is not created.

kalāpā and modes of happening or *pavattikamo*.¹ In the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*, the expression like *sabbam-rūpaṃ* may be encountered, which is explained by the words like 'exposition of matter' or *rūpa-samuddeso*. The *Abhidhamma* notes that matter or material qualities is or are of two kinds, viz., as already observed, the four primary qualities *mahābhūtāni*, and the material qualities conditioned by them or *upādāya-rūpaṃ*,² the two groups forming the following eleven divisions.

(A) *Primary Qualities* : (i) Essential material qualities (*bhūta-rūpaṃ*)—
(a) the solid state of aggregation or the principle of three-dimensional extension (negatively expressed : resistance or inertia), symbolized by the concept 'earth' or *paṭhavi* ; (b) the fluid state of aggregation or the elementary principle of cohesion, symbolized by the concept 'water' or *āpo* ; (c) the heating state of aggregation or the elementary principle of radiation, symbolized by the concept 'fire' or *tejo* ; (d) the gaseous state of aggregation or the elementary principle of vibration or oscillation, motion, symbolized by the concept 'air' (pressure) or *vāyo*.³ Each of these four *mahābhūta-rūpāni* subjectively is an essential quality of matter and so the *paṭhavi-dhātu* stands for the primary material quality of extension, *āpo-dhātu* for that of cohesion, *tejo-dhātu* for that of heat, and *vāyo-dhātu* for that of motion = 4.

(B) *Conditioned Qualities* : (ii) Sensitive Material qualities (*pasāda-rūpāṃ* or *indriya-rūpaṃ*)—eye (*cakkhu*), ear (*sotaṃ*), nose (*ghāṇaṃ*), tongue (*jivhā*), body (*kāyo*) = 5. (iii) Material qualities of sense-fields or Sensible material qualities (*gocara-rūpaṃ* or *visaya-rūpaṃ*)—Visible form (*rūpaṃ*), sound (*saddo*), odour (*gandho*), sapids (*raso*), and the tangible (*phoṭṭhabbaṃ*) = 4 ; the Material quality of the tangible is the same as the above three essential qualities, namely, earth (= hardness), fire (= hot or cold), and air (= motion), and so it has not been counted as an independent quality. It is to be noted that the sensible material qualities contain the essential qualities of matter with the exception of the element of cohesion or *āpo-dhātu*. S. Z. Aung remarks in connection with

1 *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha* of Anuruddha, VI. 2.

2 *Rūpārūpavibhāga* of Buddhādatta, ed. A. P. Buddhādatta, London, 1915, I.

3 Lama Anagarika Govinda, *The Psychological Attitude of Early Buddhist Philosophy ; and its systematic representation according to Abhidhamma Tradition*, London, 1970, p. 104.

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this: 'Particles of matter are held together by *āpo* (cohesion), which cannot be felt by the sense of touch—e. g., when one puts his hand into cold water, the softness of water felt is not *āpo* but *paṭhavi*; the cold felt is not *āpo*, but *tejo*; the pressure felt is not *āpo* but *vāyo*. Hence, Buddhists take only the three essentials or primaries to constitute the tangible. From this one can easily note that Buddhists are not dealing with Thales' water, Anaximenes' air, Herakleitus' fire, or the Peripatetics' matter of Greek Philosophy.'¹ (iv) Material qualities of sex (*bhāva-rūpaṃ*)—Femininity (*itthattaṃ*) and masculinity (*purisattaṃ*)=2. (v) Material quality of base (*hadaya-rūpaṃ*)—the heart-base (*hadaya-vatthu*)=1. (vi) Material quality of life or *jivita-rūpaṃ*)—Vital Force (*jīvitindriyaṃ*)=1. (vii) Material quality of nutrition (*āhāra-rūpaṃ*)—Material food (*kavalīkāro āhāro*)=1. All the above eighteen (4+5+4+2+1+1+1=18, tangibility excluded) types of matter are also otherwise distinguished according to their differential characteristics or *sabhāva-rūpaṃ*, to their salient marks or *salakkhaṇa-rūpaṃ*, as they are determined by deed and environment or *nipphaṇṇa-rūpaṃ*, as mutable or *rūpa-rūpaṃ*, and as fit for contemplation or *sammasana-rūpaṃ*. The following are the four remaining divisions of matter, secondary to the above seven, depending on them for their existence. (viii) Material quality of relative limitation (*pariccheda-rūpaṃ*)—Element of space (*ākāśa-dhātu*)=1. (ix) Material qualities of communication (*viññatti-rūpaṃ*)—Intimation by body (*kāyaviññatti*) and Intimation by speech (*vaciviññatti*)=2. (x) Material quality of plasticity or *vikāra-rūpaṃ*—Lightness (*lahutā*), pliancy (*mudutā*), adaptability (*kammaññatā*) of matter, and the two material qualities of communication=3. (xi) Material qualities of salient features (*lakkkhaṇa-rūpaṃ*)—growth (*upacayo*), continuity (*santati*), old age or *jaratā*, and impermanence or *aniccatā* of matter=4. The phenomenon of the production of matter alone (*jātirūpameva*) is described by the two words of 'growth' and 'continuity'. Thus the above eleven divisions of material qualities may be resolved into twenty-eight properties.

CLASSIFICATION OF MATTER. As to the classification of matter or *rūpa-vibhāgo* the *Abhidhamma* records that the above-mentioned twenty-eight types of matter may further be classified into the following groups: (i) Without roots (*ahetukaṃ*=unmoral) which is

1 *Comp. Phil.*, p. 155 notes.

possible only with the mental ; (ii) Causal or *sappaccayaṃ* ; (iii) With defilements or *sāsavaṃ* ; (iv) Conditioned or *saṅkhataṃ* ; (v) Mundane or *lokiyaṃ* ; (vi) Belonging to the sensuous sphere or *kāmāvacaraṃ* ; (vii) Objectless or *anārammaṇaṃ* ; and (viii) Not to be annihilated or *appahātabbam*. Hence matter is onefold, but when it is distinguished as internal matter (*ajjhatika-rūpaṃ*) and external matter or *bāhira-rūpaṃ* and the like, it may be as follows :

(a) The five sensitive types of matter (*pasāda-rūpaṃ*) are internal material qualities or *ajjhatika-rūpaṃ* ; others are external material qualities (*bāhira-rūpaṃ*).¹

(b) The six types comprising the five sensitives together with the heart are the basic material qualities (*vatthu-rūpaṃ* ; others are without a basis (*avattthu-rūpaṃ*).²

(c) The seven types comprising the five sensitives and the two media of communication are 'door'-forms of matter (*dvāra-rūpaṃ*), through which one receives information of the outer world ; others are without doors (*advāra-rūpaṃ*).

(d) The eight types consisting of the five sensitives, the two sexes and vital force are controlling faculties of matter (*indriya-rūpaṃ*) ; others are not controlling faculties (*anindriya-rūpaṃ*).³

(e) The twelve types including the five sensitives and the seven sensible material qualities are gross (*olārika-rūpaṃ*), near (*santike-rūpaṃ*) and resisting material qualities (*sappatigha-rūpaṃ*) ; others are subtle (*sukhuma-rūpaṃ*), remote (*dure-rūpaṃ*) and non-resisting material qualities.⁴

(f) The material qualities generated by one's own deed is 'self-earned' matter (*upādinna-rūpaṃ*) ; others are 'not self-earned' matter *anupādinna-rūpaṃ*.⁵

1 *Cakkhudhātādi-pañcavidhaṃ ajjhattika-rūpaṃ nāma* (*Rūpārūpavibhāga*, I).

2 *Cakkhudhātādi-pañcavidhaṃ hadaya-vatthu ca vatthu-rūpaṃ nāma ; itaraṃ avatthukaṃ nāma* (*ibid.*, I).

3 *Tiṇ'indriyāni cakkhādīni pañceti aṭṭha-vidhaṃ pi indriya-rūpaṃ nāma ; itaraṃ anindriya-rūpaṃ nāma* (*ibid.*, I).

4 *Thapetvā āpodhātuṃ ādito paṭṭhāya dvādasa-vidhaṃ ; olārika-rūpaṃ nāma ; itaraṃ sukhuma-rūpaṃ nāma. Olārika-rūpaṃ eva santike rūpaṃ nāma. Sukhuma-rūpaṃ dure rūpaṃ nāma...Olārikaṃ sappatighaṃ ; itaraṃ appatighaṃ* (*ibid.*, I).

5 *Sakammaja-rūpaṃ upādiṇṇaṃ ; sesaṃ anupādiṇṇaṃ nāma* (*ibid.*, I).

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(g) The coloured object is the visible material quality or *sanidas-sana-rūpaṃ* ; all others are invisible material qualities or *anidassana-rūpaṃ*.¹

(h) Eye and ear catch the objects from a distance ; but nose, tongue and body do it coming in contact with them. These five together are called the material qualities capable of catching the sensible objects (*gocara-ggāhika-rūpaṃ*) ; others are material qualities holding no special field (*agocara-ggāha-rūpaṃ*).

(i) Colour, odour, taste, nutritive essence and the four essentials² are the eight types of inseparable material qualities (*avinibbhoga-rūpaṃ*), i. e. they are invariably present in all types of matter and cannot be separated from one another ; others are separable from one another or *vinibbhoga-rūpaṃ*.³

Thus these twenty-eight types of matter are classified as 'internal' or 'personal', 'external' or 'non-personal', and the like, according to different principles.

ORIGIN OF MATTER. The Abhidhamma treatises analysing the origin of matter or *rūpa-samutṭhānaṃ* record that matter originates in four ways, namely, due to deed (*kammaṃ*), mind (*cittaṃ*), physical change (*utu*), and food (*āhāro*). It is found that in the case of a living being, the particular type of the material frame which it bears has been conditioned by its previous deeds ; but in the present birth, the particular state of its mind, the food which it enjoys, and the weather in which it lives are continuously generating material qualities of its body in their own manner.⁴ The twenty-five types of good and bad deed, belonging to life in the sensuous world or *kāmāvacaraṃ* and in the form sphere or *rūpāvacaraṃ* (*kāmāvacaraṃ* immoral 12 + *kāmāvacaraṃ* moral 8 + *rūpāvacaraṃ* 5 = 25) cause to come forth, at every moment beginning with rebirth, well produced matter 'originating in deed' or *kamma-samutṭhāna-rūpaṃ* within the personal continuity.

The seventy-five types of consciousness, i.e. excluding the resultants of the formless sphere or *arūpa-lokaṃ* (*arūpa-vipākaṃ* = 4) and the twice

1 *Rūpāyatanaṃ ev'ekaṃ sa-nidassanaṃ ; itaraṃ a-nidassanaṃ* (*ibid.*, I).

2 Earth, water, fire, and air.

3 *Ibid.*, I.

4 J. Bhikkhu Kashyap, *The Abhidhamma Philosophy or the Psycho-Ethical Philosophy of Early Buddhism*, Vol. I, Nalanda, 1954, p. 175.

fivefold cognition (*viññāṇam* = 5 + 5 = 10) in the course of springing up cause to come forth from the first moment of the life-continuum or *paṭhama-bhavaṅgam*, matter 'originating in mind' or *citta-samuṭṭhāna-rūpam*. Also here apperception during ecstasy or *appanā-javanam* serves to strengthen the physical postures or *iriyāpatham*. But determining cognition or *voṭṭhapana*, *kāmāvacara*-apperception and super-intellection or *abhiññā* give rise to physical and vocal expressions. Likewise, thirteen kinds of joyous apperceptions or *somanassa-javanāni* (*akusala-lobha* 4 + *kusala* 4 + *kiriya* 4 + *hasituppāda* 1 = 13) may cause laughter or *hasana* as well.

The material quality of temperature, i.e. fire (*tejo-dhātu*), with its heating and cooling effects, when it reaches its static stage generates the matter 'originated by physical change' or *utu-samuṭṭhāna-rūpam*, both in the organic and inorganic bodies according to the circumstances.

So also the nutritive essence (*ojā*) starts generating the matter 'originated by food' or *āhāra-samuṭṭhāna-rūpam* during assimilation and static stage.

As to the scope of the four origins, it should be noted that the material qualities of heart and physical faculties or *hadaya-indriya-rūpam* are produced only by deed (*kammajā*). The two media of communication are produced only by mind (*cittajā*). Sound is produced by mind and physical change (*cittotujā*); the triple properties of lightness, pliancy, and adaptability (*lahutādittayam*), may be due to the physical change, mind, and food (*utu-cittāhārajā*). The eight kinds of inseparable material qualities as well as the space element are due to all four causes while the essential material characteristics or *lakkaṇa-rūpāni*, i. e. the material qualities of growth, continuance, decay, and death, are produced by none of these four causes, but they form the very nature of existence.¹ In fact, growth, continuance, decay, and death are natural to matter which exists. They are not produced by any cause at all.

Hence of the matter 18 (*kamma-born* = *avinibbhoga* 8 + *ākāsa* 1 + *hadaya* 1 + *indriya* 8 = 18), 15 (*mind-born* = *avinibbhoga* 8 + *ākāsa* 1 + *sadda* 1 + *vikāra* 3 + *viññatti* 2 = 15), 13 (*physical change-born* = *avinibbhoga* 8 + *ākāsa* 1 + *vikāra* 3 + *sadda* 1 = 13), 12 (*food-born* = *avinibbhoga* 8 + *ākāsa* 1 + *vikāra* 3 = 12) types are born of deed, mind, physical change, and food

¹ *Rūpārūpavibhāga*, I.

respectively. But the expression *rūpa-samuṭṭhānaṃ* does not mean here absolute origins of matter. It was used by the early Buddhists in the sense in which Sir Charles Darwin used it in the phrase 'Origin of Species'. Buddhism does not attempt to solve the problem of the ultimate origin of matter, but takes for granted that matter exists and declares that matter develops in four ways.

GROUPS OF MATTER. According to the Theravāda Buddhism, there are twenty-one groups of matter or material qualities. Details of such groups have been discussed in the Abhidhamma treatises in a section called the 'Groupings of Material Qualities' (*Rūpa-kalāpa-vibhāgo*), which reveals that matter does not appear singly but collectively in groups. Of these twenty one kinds of *kalāpa*, nine are produced by deed, six by mind, four by physical change, and two by food. It is said that these groups are formed according to the one genesis (*eku-ppādā*), cessation (*eka-nirodhā*), dependence (*eka-nissayā*) and also co-existence (*saha-vuttino*). In explaining the expression *rūpa-kalāpa* the *Buddhist Dictionary* writes the following: 'Corporeal Group', designates a combination of several phenomena constituting an entity. Thus, e. g., the so-called dead matter forms the most primitive group, consisting only of 8 physical phenomena, the so-called pure eight-fold group (*suddhaṭṭhaka-kalāpa*), to wit: the solid, fluid, heat, motion, colour, smell, taste, nutriment (*paṭhavi, āpo, tejo, vāyo, vaṇṇa, gandha, rasa, ojā*). The simplest form of living matter, the so-called 9 fold vitality group (*jivita-navaka-kalāpa*), is formed by the addition of vitality; the 10 fold optical group (*cakkhu-dasaka-kalāpa*) by the further addition of the visual organ. In a similar way it is with the remaining corporeal groups.¹

Vitality and eight inseparable material qualities together with the eye itself form the group of ten qualities called the (i) Eye-decad (*cakkhu-dasakaṃ*). Likewise, the groups called the (ii) Ear-decad (*sota-dasakaṃ*) with the eight inseparable material qualities and vitality together with ear, (iii) Nose-decad (*ghāna-dasakaṃ*) together with the nose, (iv) Tongue-decad (*jivhā-dasakaṃ*) together with the tongue, (v) Body-decad (*kāya-dasakaṃ*) together with the body, (vi) Female-decad

¹ Nyanatiloka, *Buddhist Dictionary: Manual of Buddhist Terms and Doctrines*, Colombo, 1950, p. 131.

(*itthibhāva-dasakam*) together with female sex, (vii) Male-decad (*pumbhāva-dasakam*) together with the male sex, and (viii) Base-decad (*vatthu-dasakam*) together with the heart, are formed. The eight inseparable material qualities (*avinibbhoga-rūpam*) together with vitality only form the group of nine qualities called the (ix) Vital nonad (*jīvita-navakam*). The above nine groups of material qualities are considered to arise as a result of the previous deed (*kamma-samuṭṭhāna-kalāpā*).

On the other hand, there are the following six groups which arise as a result of different states of mind. Those eight inseparable material qualities form the simple group of the eight material qualities known as the (a) Pure Octad (*suddhaṭṭhakam*). They together with the medium of communication by signs or gestures or with the vocal medium of communication and sound make up the group of the nine material qualities called the (b) Nonad of the body-communication (*kāyaviññatti-navakam*) and (c) the Group of the ten material qualities known as the decad of speech-communication (*vaci-viññatti-dasakam*) respectively. Further, taken together lightness, pliancy, and adaptability of matter, the inseparable material qualities make the group of eleven material qualities called the (d) Undecad of plasticity (*lahutādi-ekādasakam*); and adding to these body-communication they make up the group of twelve material qualities called the (e) Dodecad of plasticity or *kāya-viññatti-lahutādi-dvādasakam*; and adding vocal communication and sound, they make up the group of the thirteen material qualities called the (f) Tredecad of plasticity or *vaci-viññatti-sadda-lahutādi-terasakam*. Thus, these six groups are caused by mind or *citta-samuṭṭhāna-kalāpā*.

Also, there are four groups of material qualities arising as a result of the influence of the physical change or *utu-samuṭṭhāna-kalāpā*. They are the simple groups of only the eight inseparable material qualities called the (i) Pure Octad, (ii) the group of nine material qualities including 'sound' called the sound-nonad or *sadda-navakam*, (iii) the group of eleven material qualities including lightness and others, i. e. 8 inseparables + lightness + pliancy + adaptability, called the Undecad of plasticity or *lahutādi-ekādasakam*, (iv) the group of twelve material qualities including 'sound' and lightness and others, i. e. 8 inseparables + quality of sound + lightness + pliancy + adaptability, called the Dodecad of sound and plasticity or *sadda-lahutādi-dvādasakam*.

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Again, there are two groups arising as a result of the assimilation of food or *āhāra-samuṭṭhāna-kalāpā*, namely, (a) the group of only the eight inseparable material qualities called the pure octad or the *suddha-tṭhakam*, and (b) the group of eleven material qualities including the qualities of lightness and others, i. e. 8 inseparables + lightness + pliancy + adaptability, called the undecad of plasticity (*lahutādi-ekādasakam*). Among the above twenty-one kinds of groups the pure octad and the sound-nonad caused by the physical change are obtained both in the animate and in the inanimate bodies. The remaining kinds of groups are obtained only in the animate bodies. Further, it should be noted that the material qualities of space and the four characteristics of existence, viz. growth, continuance, decay, death, are not considered as factors of a group because the quality of space is nothing but a relative limitation among two or more groups, and the four characteristics are nothing but the essential nature of all the material groups.¹

MODES OF HAPPENING OF MATTER. The Abhidhamma manuals consider the modes of happening of matter or *rūpa-pavattikkamo* from the points of view of the sensuous world or *kāma-lokam* and the form world or *rūpa-lokam*. In some texts a separate section has been devoted to this topic, which presents an idea of the manner in which the material qualities come into being and how they exist during the lifetime at the moment of conception and in different states of birth, namely, egg-born beings or *aṇḍajā*, womb-born beings or *jalābujā*, moisture-born beings or *samsedajā*, and beings having spontaneous births or *opapātikā*. It is said in respect of the mode of function of the material qualities in the *kāmaloka* that material qualities are obtained with no deficiency, if circumstances would permit, to an individual during a lifetime in the sensuous world. At the conception, to the moisture-born beings and to the beings of spontaneous births, there arise at most seven decads of eye, ear, nose, tongue, body, sex, and base. Sometimes eye, ear, nose, and sex-decads may be missing in them. In that case, they should be thought as devoid of those particular material groups or *kalāpahāni*. Further, to the womb-born beings or *gabbha-seyyaka-sattā* there arise three decads of body, sex, and base, although sometimes the sex-decad

¹ *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha* of Anuruddha, VI. 52-53.

may be missing. Thereafter, as a being grows the eye-decad and the remaining groups are developed in him or her in due course.

Again, with regard to the mode of function of the material qualities at the time of death it is found that the continuity of the material groups is produced in four ways, i. e. by deed from the moment of rebirth-conception or *paṭi-sandhi*, by the states of mind from the second moment of mental life, by the influences of the physical change from the time of the phase of conception, and by food from the time of assimilation of nutritive essence. This continuity uninterruptedly flows on in the sensuous world till the end of life like the flame of a lamp or the stream of a river as long as a being survives. On the other hand, at the time of death or *maraṇakāle* of a being beginning from the static period of the seventeenth thought-moment of his or her *cuti*-consciousness, i. e. when the last course of cognition is complete upon any of the three objects, namely, *kamma*, *kamma-nimitta* and *gati-nimitta*, the process of the material qualities produced by deed is cut off. The material qualities which have been produced up to the last moment by deed ceases with the *cuti*-consciousness. So also the mind and nutritive essence cease to continue their processes. Then the physical change continues to work on the dead body, as long as it exists. Likewise, wherever the being is born after death, the material qualities function in him or her from the very first moment of thought, arising at the beginning of his or her life.

On the other hand, as to the mode of function of the material qualities in the form world or *rūpa-lokam*, it is noted that the decads of nose, tongue, body, and sex and the material groups produced by food do not exist. So at the time of rebirth-conception beings of the form world get only four groups produced by deed, namely, the three decads of eye, ear, and base, and the vital nonad. During their lifetime, they also get all the groups produced as a result of the states of mind and physical change. But the unconscious beings or *assaṇṇa-sattā* do not even have the eye, ear, heart, or sound, and all the material qualities which arise from the mind.¹ So at the time of their rebirth-conception, they have only the vital nonad, i. e. 8 inseparables+vitāly; and during their lifetime they get also other qualities which arise from the

1 *Rūpārūpavibhāga*, VI.

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influences of the physical change, with the exception of sound. Thus in the three regions, namely, the sensuous world, form world, and the world of unconscious beings, the material qualities function in two ways, namely, at the moment of rebirth-conception and in the course of life. In short, in the sensuous world are found twenty-eight kinds of material qualities, in the form world twenty-three with the exception of nose, tongue, body, male sex, female sex, and in the world of unconscious beings seventeen, i. e. 8 inseparables + vitality + lightness + pliancy + adaptability + space + growth + continuance + decay + death.¹ The beings of the formless world have no material qualities at all. But at the moment of rebirth-conception sound, lightness, pliancy, adaptability, two media of communication, decay and death are not obtained. All the material qualities are, on the other hand, obtained during the lifetime of living beings.

CONCLUSION. Thus in the aforesaid discussion we find that the world of matter, according to Pali *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*, consists of four things or substances, namely, earth, water, fire and air.² The *Abhidharmakośa*, a manual based mainly on the Vaibhāṅika school of Buddhism in Kashmir, mentions also the ultimate material *dharma*s which are called the four great elements or *mahābhūtas* comprising earth or *pṛthivī*, water or *ap*, fire or *tejas* and air or *vāyu*. They are further called *dhātus* and great respectively because they retain their individual characteristics and are regarded as the supports of all derived matters. According to Ācārya Vasubandhu, the author of this philosophical manual of the fifth century A. D., the characteristics and functions of these four great elements are as follows :

- Earth (matter)—hardness or *kharatva* (characteristic)—supporting or *dhāraṇa* (function) ;
- Water (matter)—humidity or *snehatva* (characteristic)—cohesion or *saṃgraha* (function) ;
- Fire (matter)—heat or *uṣṇatā* (characteristic)—ripening or *pakti* (function) ;
- Air (matter)—motion or *īraṇa* (characteristic)—expanding or *vyāhāna* (function) ;

In the *Sphuṭārthābhidharmakośavyākhyā*, a commentary on the *Abhidharmakośa*, of Yaśomitra may be found an explanation as to how such great elements are interdependent. Therein it is said that if one

1 *Abhidhammathhasaṅgaha* of Anuruddha, VI. 63-64.

2 Silananda Brahmachari, *An Introduction to Abhidhamma: Buddhist Philosophy and Psychology*, Calcutta, 1979, pp. 146-58.

analyses any one of these elements, e.g. earth, one may trace that together with the atoms of earth it consists of at least one atom of water, fire and air, still as here the atoms of earth predominate, one may call it earth. So also is the case with other three great elements. Although the great elements appear together in all molecules—hard, moist, hot and mobile, the nature of one element here temporarily predominates and one finds only the predominating one, i. e. earth and not the other three states.¹ In this connection it may be noted that some Pre-Buddhist Upaniṣads record that the soul is *viñāna-ghana* or a mass of intelligence having emerged from an organic combination of five elementary substances with their disintegration. The Jainas and the Ājīvakas also with reference to such a world of matter consider the earth, water, fire, and air as four forms or species of matter of life or living matter. They propose that 'even a piece of rock, possessing some amount of individuality, distinctness and power of action and resistance is the form of life, the earth life'.² Ajita Kesakambalī, a contemporary of Buddha, with reference to the same world of matter declares that individual life emerges out of an organic combination of the four elementary substances of earth, water, fire, and air and at the death when the organ begins to disintegrate, the earth element returns to the earth, the water to water, fire to heat and the air to air, while the senses go back to *ākāśa* or space. Pakudha Kaccāyana, another religious leader of Buddha's time, speaks of six or seven substances, namely, earth, water, fire, air, ether, and the spirit that perpetually integrate and disintegrate to create and destroy individuals, *sukha* or happiness being the formative principle, which brings about their integration, and *dukkha* or suffering, a destructive principle, brings about their disintegration. Buddha himself is reported to have said, in the Dhātuvibhaṅga Sutta of the Pali *Majjhima Nikāya*, of earth, water, fire, air, space, and consciousness on the six *dhātus* or primary elements of experience appertaining to the world of nature and of life.³

1 Sukomal Chaudhuri, *Analytical Study of the Abhidharmakośa*, Calcutta, 1976, p. 77.

2 Dwijendra Lal Barua, 'Treatment of *Rūpa* in the Abhidhamma System', *Calcutta Review*, April, 1950, pp. 16-20.

3 *Majjhima Nikāya* (Pali Text Society), Vol. III, pp. 237-47. See also Y. Karunadasa, *Buddhist Analysis of Matter*, Colombo, 1967, p. 17.

AFFECTION-MOTIVE IN ANIMAL SACRIFICE

G. K. BHAT

IN THE RELIGIOUS CULTURE of India, ritual or sacrifice is an accepted means for achieving certain ends of human life. The normal and simple sacrifice consists of oblations of specified materials like clarified butter, milk, wheat-cakes, or other grains offered into the sacred fire. For some specific ends animals like sheep or goat, a horse, barren cow, etc. are used for ritual oblations. The slaughter of live animals is always looked upon as a ritual necessity and, therefore, is not a sin of any kind, in the exclusive context of a sacrificial performance. This vedic attitude to animal sacrifice has permeated down the ages, and, even at a later stage in our cultural history, killing of animals as sacrificial victims has been considered to be a religious or ritual act only, though an exceptional one. The fisherman, in Kālidāsa's *Abhijñānaśakuntala*, defending his own traditional professions protests to the police-officers of Duṣyanta that a man's character or nature must not be judged by the profession he follows. In support he uses the example of a vedic priest, who is required to do the cruel and dreadful work of killing a sacrificial animal but who, nevertheless, does have a tender, sympathetic heart.¹

Apart from such natural human feelings supported by ritual morality, there is, I think, some humane consideration in the very procedural details and *mantras* used during the performance of an animal sacrifice. This I may describe as 'affection-motive'. It is mostly concerned with the conception of 'mother' or 'mother and father' of the animal victim; and the help of gods is naturally invoked for the victim. My objective here is to set down a few cases illustrative of what I have called the 'affection-motive'.

In the course of a horse-sacrifice which a king performs to gain suzerainty over all other rulers, there is one ritual act where the

1 Cf. *Paśu-mālaṇa-kamma-dāluṇe anukampā-midue vi śottie* (*Abhijñānaśakuntala*, VI. 1)

adhvaryu and the sacrificer whisper in the right ear of the horse a *mantra* from the *Vājasaneyi-saṃhitā*, 'Rich by the mother, powerful by the father' (*Vibhur mātṛā prabhuḥ pitṛā*). The mother and father here respectively denote earth and yonder sky. After this, various names of the horse, like *atya*, *haya*, etc. are pronounced, which the horse is expected to love, being thus personally addressed. The ritual objective of this procedure is to secure a place for the horse on the earth and in heaven, which will favourably react to the sacrificer also. But the human factor is to remind the horse of his mother and father, to keep him mentally happy, before the ritual slaughter takes place.¹

The horse is to be carried to waters for a bath.* It is tied by a string which the sons of the king's paternal and maternal aunts hold, one walking in front of the horse, the other at its back. This is a

1 *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (henceforth *Śat. Brā.*), XIII. 1. 6.1-2 ; XIII, 4. 2. 15 ; cf. also *Vibhur mātṛā prabhuḥ pitṛā* iti *aśva-nāmāni juhoti|Ubhayor=eva=enam lokayor=nāmadheyam gamayati|(Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, III. 8. 9. 17).*

* [Numismatic evidence illustrative of the so-called 'affection-motive' may perhaps be said to be forthcoming if the standing female figure, holding a chowrie over her right shoulder in her right hand and an uncertain object, taken as a towel by A. S. Altekar (*The Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, Banaras Hindu University, 1957, pp. 66-67, 202), in her left hand hanging by her side, appearing on the reverse of the *Aśvamedha* type of gold coins of Samudragupta (c. 314-76 A. D.) and Kumāragupta I (414-55 A. D.), is believed to represent the queen, as is generally done (V. A. Smith, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, Vol. I, Oxford, 1906, p. 101 ; J. Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties and of Śaśāṅka, King of Gauḍa*, London, 1914, pp. 21, 68 ; Altekar, *op cit.*, pp. 66-67, 202 ; D. C. Sircar, *Studies in Indian Coins*, New Delhi, 1968, p. 378). As Altekar points out (*op. cit.*, p. 66), according to the *Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra*, VI. 6. 1, 'the queen was required to fan and wash the horse and so she naturally has a chowrie and a towel with her'. According to C. D. Chatterjee (*Journ. Num. Soc. Ind.*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 86-87, 95-99), however, the female figure on the reverse of the *Aśvamedha* type of coins of the said kings is not of any mortal being but of an immortal one, 'the omnipotent goddess of victory, Vijayā, the Śakti-incarnate (*śakti-rūpiṇī*), standing before an ornamental spear (*śakti*)' and holding *cāmara* and *pāśa* which 'often looks like a rope', as Altekar himself admits (*Corpus of the Gupta Gold Coins in the Bayana Hoard*, Bombay, 1954, pp. lxi, 38 ff.)—Ed.]

symbolic way of securing the presence of the horse's relatives by its side, and obtaining their consent for the coming ritual slaughter; ritually it absolves the king of any sin.¹

After the horse is slaughtered, the four queens of the king and four hundred maids come forward to wash the feet. The calling *mantra* which the *brahmā* priest addresses to the queen means that her parents are already on the top of the tree; and the daughters of the queen address similarly to the *brahmā* priest.² The tree-top is symbolical of the top position the king has gained. But let it not be forgotten that the sacrificed horse has played the central role in this achievement.

In the procedure of consecrating an animal for ritual slaughter, the sacred *barhis* grass is spread. Grass and herbs are the food of animals. In doing the act of spreading *barhis*, the *hotṛ* priest secures for the animal food and thereby soul. He further recites a *mantra* in which the mother, father, brother, sister, relatives and companions from the herd of the horse are begged to give their consent for the ritual slaughter of the animal. The killing will take place only after the consent. This is the inner motive of the procedure and the *mantra*.³

Water is sprinkled over the animal to make it sacrifice-worthy (*medhya*). Water produces the food of the animal; the food makes it strong and capable of raising progeny. This is a symbolic care of the animal on the eve of its killing. Even at this time the *mantra* of parental consent for ritual slaughter is recited.⁴

During the sacrificial killing, a *mantra* is recited to invoke gods and the animal's parents: their blessings are sought to enable the animal to complete its journey to heaven in peace and joy. Indra controls life-breath; so Indra is invoked, while touching the slaughtered animal, to regulate the animal's in and out breath, to preserve it in its body, and to join again the cut-up parts. Tvaṣṭṛ is invoked to make

1 *Mātā ca te pitā ca te' iti/Iyam vai mātā asau pitā, ābhyām=eva=enam svargam lokam gamayati* (Śat. Brā., XIII. 2. 9. 7).

2 *Ibid.*, XIII. 5. 2. 2, 5.

3 '*Strīṇīta barhir'iti, Oṣdhyātmā vai paśuḥ, Paśum=eva tat=sarvātmānam karoti/ 'Anu enam mātā manyatām, anu pitā, anu bhrāta sa garbhya, anu sakhā sayāthya' iti/ Janitrair =evai=nam tat=samanumatam ālabhanta* (Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, II, 1. 6).

4 Śat. Brā., III. 7. 4. 4-5.

the animal's body entire and whole. A feeling is expressed that the animal's cut-up body will be joined as before in heaven, and its mother and father, relatives and companions will make its heavenward journey full of joy.¹

When a barren cow is used as a sacrificial victim, it has to be assured that she is not carrying a foetus. If there is no foetus in her belly it is all right. But if she is carrying one, the *samitṛ* priest, who is to do the ritual slaughter, has to pull it out. Then, *soma* juice is sprinkled over both the cow and the foetus. This secures a ritual eminence for *soma*. But symbolically this is a union of mother and calf, whom *soma* has joined together. One would not like to separate the mother from her child, even if it is in the case of animals.²

One gets the impression that such details and the choice of *mantras* are not prompted merely by technical and formal considerations of a ritual. A humane consideration, the motive of affection, also seems to have entered in the shaping of sacrificial performances.

1 *Ibid.*, III. 8. 3. 37.

2 *Ibid.*, IV. 5. 2. 12.

SŪRYA IMAGE FROM SIANG

RAMESH KUMAR BILLOREY

THE RUINS OF A TEMPLE found near Likabali in the Siang District of Arunachal include a large number of sculptures, most of them carved in sandstone and a few fine reliefs in granite. To the latter group belongs the images of Sūrya, Gaṇeśa, Kārttikeya and Indra.

Unfortunately the head of the exquisitely carved Sūrya figure is broken. The deity stands in *samabhaṅga* posture holding, in his two hands, the full-blossomed lotus flowers with stalks. He is shown with booted legs, according to the accepted north Indian tradition. The god wears various ornaments including armlets, wristlets and a waist-girdle. The beaded-strings and a *yajñopavīta* adorn his chest. The god and his consorts, Mahāśvetā between his legs and Rājñī and Nikṣubhā on his each side, with a *cāmara* in their hands, are worked out as standing on the lotuses. Besides his queens as principal attendants, the usual accessory figures of the staff-carrying Daṇḍi on his left and the pen and ink-pot bearing Kuṇḍi* on his right, and the goddesses Uṣā and Pratyūṣā, driving away darkness with bows and arrows, are depicted here. The charioteer Aruṇa is shown driving the seven horses carved on the *saptaratha* pedestal. In the upper portion, the *makara* motif, a musician, and *vidyādhara* figures on either side of the main figure, the circular halo around the head of the god and the *Kīrtimukha* design on the top centre of the stela complete the elaborate composition.

The image under discussion shows all the features which are invariably present in the Sūrya reliefs of the Pāla period. It bears stylistic as well as iconographic affinities with the Sūrya image from Chapra, Bihar,¹ dated in the 11th century A.D. (preserved in the Rajsahi Museum), and on this basis the present sculpture may also be assigned to the same period. In this connection, we may also draw attention to the image of

* [A name of Piṅgala.—Ed.]

1 A. K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, New York, 1965, p. 114, fig. 227.

the god from Rajmahal Hills, Santal Parganas, Bihar¹ (11th-12th century A. D., now preserved in the Indian section of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London) and another Sūrya figure from Ajmer preserved in the Rajputana Museum).² The latter was apparently brought from eastern India and belonged to the same school as the former. It should, however, be noted that the mode of depiction of dress and ornaments of the main figure as well as the composition of accessory figures in the relief in question is not exactly the same as in the two sculptures just mentioned. The image in question may also be compared favourably with the Dhātṛ-Sūrya from Dinajpur, though the latter has six hands.³ A fine figure of Sūrya found at Daboka (Naogong District, Assam) with iconographic features similar to our image has been assigned to c. 12th century A. D.⁴

However, from purely artistic considerations, the Sūrya image under discussion exhibits considerable skill on the part of the sculptor responsible for its execution and it may be regarded as one of the finest representations of the god discovered in north-east India. The high technical accomplishment noticed in this fine image and a few other granite figures and their stylistic affinity with the sculptures of the Pāla school indicate clearly the extension of the art tradition of eastern India in the foothills of Arunachal.

- 1 V. A. Smith, *A History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon*, 1969, Pl. 98, fig. B.
- 2 Gopinath Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, 1968, Vol. I, Part II, XCIII, fig. 2.
- 3 J. N. Banerjea, *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, 2nd. Ed., Pl. XLVII, fig. 3.
- 4 The image is preserved in the Assam State Museum, Gauhati.

ĀCĀRYA-VANDANĀ : D. R. BHANDARKAR BIRTH CENTENARY VOLUME



Sūrya Image from Siang

SLAVE LABOUR AND FREE LABOUR IN ANCIENT CAMBODIA : A STUDY IN TERMINOLOGY

ADHIR CHAKRAVARTI

OUR KNOWLEDGE OF ANCIENT CAMBODIA is derived essentially from inscriptions, composed both in Sanskrit and Khmèr. Most of these are records of grants of different kinds of wealth and land made to various godheads. Often these also specify the personnel entrusted with the cult-services of the temples and other religious establishments and the exploitation of the real estates of the gods. While most of these persons so employed were slaves, others were, at least juridically speaking, free. An attempt is made here to examine the different terms used in inscriptions to denote these two broad categories of labour in ancient Cambodia. From the same it will become, it is hoped, apparent that in real terms the distinction between free labour and slave labour was hardly recognized at any time of Cambodian history, pre-Añkorian and Añkorian.

Slaves are indicated in Sanskrit inscriptions by such terms as *dāsa* and *kiñkara*, while Khmèr inscriptions call them *kñum* or *khñum*. In the pre-Añkorian period *va* and *ku* were the most current designations to signify male and female slaves respectively.¹ *Kñum ta si* and *kñum ta kantai* were the more detailed appellations respectively for male and female slaves during this period.² In Añkorian times the use of *va* and *ku* becomes rare.³ In lieu thereof Añkorian inscriptions generally use two new expressions viz. *si* and *gho* to designate male slaves and *tai* for the female ones.⁴

1 Coedès, *Inscriptions du Cambodge* (henceforth *Ins. Cam.*), Vols. II, pp. 16-17, 21, 74, 83 ; IV, p. 19 ; V, pp. 7-8, 14-17, 40, etc.

2 *Ibid.*, Vols. II, pp. 27 (Cainnoñ), 36 (Tùol Añ), 200-01 (Tùol Tramuon) ; V, pp. 45, 71 ; IV, pp. 59-60 (stèle of Western B`ar`ay of queen Jayadevi) enumerates them as *kantai ku* and *va* ; VII, p. 107.

3 As for example in the inscription of P`ras`at N`ak B`uos (K. 342), western door-pillar (9th century A. D.), *ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 237.

4 *Gho* and *tai*, *ibid.*, Vols. II, pp. 20, 45 ; III, pp. 41-42, 86, 126-27 ; IV, pp. 77-78, 110-11

With regard to the meaning of any of these terms nothing can be ascertained definitely in the present state of our knowledge. However, their possible etymological roots have been suggested. It is likely that pre-Aṅkorian designation for female slaves viz. *kantai* is the same as Sanskrit *kāntā* and this after dropping the initial syllable became *tai* in the Aṅkorian period. More difficult is to suggest the derivation of *si*. Evidently on the analogy of such Siamese place-names as Si T'ep being derived from Sanskrit Śrī Deva, R. K. Chaudhuri believes that *si* is a deformation of Sanskrit Śrī.¹ But there may be a twofold objection to this hypothesis. First, it should be remembered that modern Khmèr has retained the word in the form *srei* i. e. without the loss of the medial *ra*. So it remains to be explained why in old Khmèr the derivative from Sanskrit *śrī* should be *si* and the Siamese analogy is not enough for the purpose. Secondly, *śrī* in Sanskrit is an honorific title to indicate a person who is absolutely free. So the application of the same to signify a slave is self-defeating. On the other hand, it may be pointed out that in the Bāhnār language *si* is a generic term to mean lice, parasites which live on other living beings and a kind of locusts.² Considering the fact that slaves were highly looked down upon in ancient Cambodia, it is not altogether impossible that it is the Bāhnār word *si* which was borrowed by the ancient Cambodians to signify the male slaves. It is, however, curious to note the use of such a highly derogatory title before the name of a special servant of god. In the inscription of Prāsāt Lāk Nān (881 Śaka = A. D. 959) the *devapariçāra si* Vidyāmaya along with the *khloñ vnañ* and *khloñ anak*, two very important dignitaries, was entrusted with receiving the royal order.³ If Vidyāmaya was a free person, as is more likely the case, the use of *si* before his name is astonishing. If, on the other hand, he was verily a slave, the responsible nature of his assignment and his

(northern door-pillar) ; V, pp. 96, 127-29, 158-59, 236, 296 ; VI, pp. 94, 150-51, 154-55, 168-69, 220-22, 225-27, 235 ; VII, pp. 27-33, 143, 146. *Gho, si* and *tai* (*ibid.*, Vols. II, p. 204 ; III, p. 82).

1 'Serfs and Slaves in Mediaeval Cambodia', *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XLIV, Part III, 1966, p. 808.

2 P. Guilleminet, *Dictionnaire Bāhnār-Français*, Vol. II, Part I, p. 804.

3 *Ins. Cam.*, Vol. IV, p. 103, lines 11, 16, 20.

association with the two local high ranking personages are indicative of the change the institution of slavery underwent in Cambodia in the course of time.

As to the other appellation of male slaves, Coedès has well remarked that 'the appellation *gho* which was much in vogue in the beginning of the Añkorian period is undoubtedly an abbreviation of *ghoda*'.¹ It is possible that *gho* or *ghoda* is a variant of *goḍ* or *goḍā* occurring in some north Indian languages including the Santali and signifying leg and root respectively and by extension both may convey the idea of primacy. It will be actually seen that to begin with every male slave was not designated by the term *gho* or *ghoda*. It was reserved to the one whose name was given at the top of the lists of slaves in the inscriptions, thereby suggesting his superior position *vis-à-vis* the others.²

In respect of free labour the term found most frequently in Khmèr inscriptions is *anak pañre* which is generally translated as 'servants'. However, at all ages an uneasiness prevailed with regard to their juridical position. Sometimes they are distinguished from slaves. Thus, the pre-Añkorian inscription of Lobok Srot mentions a slave (*kñum*) after the enumeration of women assigned to the internal service of the temple (*anak pañre kañluñ*) and the total of 28 may be arrived at only by counting the *anak pañre* separately from the slaves.³ Again, in the early Añkorian period by order of Her Majesty the Old Queen (*vrah pāda vrah ājñā kanloñ kamrateñ añ ta acas*) gifts were made to diverse godheads. Among other things these included servants and slaves furnished by the village (*sruk*) of Sañke, thus drawing at the same time a distinction in status of the *pañre* and the *kñum*.⁴ The same distinction is maintained in another inscription of the time of Jayavarman V (A. D. 968-1000). According to this, the slaves had to guard the *khmar* (whatever be its precise significance), while the two quarters of Jnañ Joñ and Thmo Vvak furnished to the god Tribhuvaneśvara one and two servants

1 *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 37, note 5.

2 *Ibid.*, Vols. I, pp. 41-46 ; III, pp. 77, 82 ; IV, pp. 178-89 (A, lines 33-38) ; V, pp. 127-29, 135 ; VI, pp. 156-60, etc.

3 K. 134, dated A. D. 781 (Jayavarman, called by Coedès Jayavarman I bis), lines 13-17, *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 93.

4 K. 669 (stèle of Prāsāt Kōmphañ, D, lines 25-26), *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 173.

(*anak paṁre*) respectively.¹ A somewhat later inscription, namely that from Prāsāt Nāk Bûos, also maintains the same distinction between the *khñum* and *anak paṁre*.² It is worthy of note that none of the inscriptions mentioned above contains the least indication as to the basis of differentiation between the two categories of workers.

From the Sanskrit inscriptions it is known that the word *bhṛtya* was the synonym most current for *anak paṁre*. Their identity may be established from an inscription of Phnom Cisor. The Sanskrit text (line 3) refers to *bhṛtyopāya*, means of subsistence of servants, while the Khmèr text (line 10) gives *kriyā paṁre*, food for servants.³ The inscription of the Prāsāt Phlañ mentions the *bhṛtyas* in the company of friends and relatives (*sahāyān vāndhavān bhṛtyān*), while it ends with an enumeration of gifts made in favour of the god Lokeśvara and an *āśrama*. This latter was provided with male and female slaves (*dāsi-dāsam*).⁴ Again, the new inscription of king Jayavīravarmā found at Prāh Ko and dated A. D. 1005 seems to distinguish between the *bhṛtyas* and the *kiṅkaras*.⁵

Another synonym of *anak paṁre* appears to be *sakārma* or its more popular variant *sakarma*. The Phnom Cisor inscription referred to above contains the words *neḥ sakārma slik* 2, 'these 800 servants'. The use of the demonstrative *neḥ* shows that the expression is related to *bhṛtyopāya* of line 3 of the same inscription, since no other slave or servant intervenes between *bhṛtyopāya* and these *sakārma*. That the *sakārma* denoted ordinary servants in contradistinction with the slaves is apparent also from the Tà Nèñ inscription which records the affectation of 110 slaves and 4 *sakarma* in the service of a *vrah kamrateñ añ Śivalinga* (*khñum śata mvāy 10 sakarma pvān*).⁶ Sometimes it also seems that the

1 New inscription from Bantāy Srei (K. 783), dated 969 A.D., Text No. 2, lines 42-43, 45 (*ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 144-45 ; Finot, *Mémoires archéologiques*, pp. 72-73).

2 K. 342 (1015 A.D.), Sūryavarman I, *Ins. Cam.*, Vol. VI, p. 237, line 10.

3 Cf. the inscription of Phnom Cisor (K. 31), *ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 29-30. Our interpretation of *kriyā* in the expression mentioned above does not conform with that given by Coedès. In our opinion, the sentence ends with *vrah* at the end of line 9.

4 988 A.D., Verse 2 (*ibid.*, Vol. V, pp. 156-57).

5 K. 717, Verse 16, *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 192.

6 K. 212 (Sūryavarman I, col. II, Face 2), A, lines 13-14 (*ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 30).

sakarmas were regarded as coming under the category *anak phle*. Literally this means man-fruit and may very well signify wage-earners or hired labourers. However, there is reason to believe that it referred also to such slaves whose services were let out by their masters for the profit of third parties. In any case, the Bat Cum inscription testifies to such a status for the *sakarma*, and makes it clear that though the *sakarma* were *anak phle*, they had the same titles and the same organization of work as the slaves.¹

Two other terms viz. *karmakara* and *paricāraka* or *paricārikā* occur in our inscriptions and these seem to stand for workers enjoying a status very much different from that of the slaves. The servants whom Yaśovarman (A. D. 889-900) entrusted with the execution of his order regarding the Saugatā-śrama are called *karmakara*. They are distinguished from the slaves (*kiṅkara*) and work in concert with the *kulādhyakṣas*.² It is probable that the status of the *karmakaras* remained unchanged or even improved in later times. Thus the Say Fong inscription of the time of Jayavarman VII (A. D. 1183-1220) contains the following verse :

*yo rājadhānyān = nihitaḥ prabhutve
mantri ca ev = ātra niyojanīyaḥ |
na preṣatavyā = iha karmakārāḥ
kar-ādi-dāneṣu na c = ānyakārye ||*³

The term *karmakara* in the above stanza has been translated by Finot as 'fonctionnaires' (government officers)⁴ but Barth takes it to mean simply workers.⁵

The other expression viz. *paricāraka* or *paricārikā* seems to occur first in the inscriptions of Jayavarman V. A Bantāy Srei inscription mentions

1 A, southern door-pillar, *Journal Asiatique*, Tenth Series, Vol. XII, 1909, pp. 229-30. Aymonier is not ready to ascribe any technical significance to the term *sakarma* occurring in the inscription and translates it simply as 'valid' (*Le Cambodge*, Vol. III, p. 13).

2 Tép Prañam, B, Verse 48, *Journal Asiatique*, Tenth Series, Vol. XI, 1908, pp. 210-19 ; D, Verse 93, p. 213 ; *Inscriptions Sanskrites de Campā et du Cambodge*, No. LVI, D, Verse 14, p. 425 : *kiṅkarair = āśramasy = āśya*, etc.

3 Verse 44, *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* (henceforth *Bul. Eco. Fran. Ext. Or.*), Vol. III, p. 19.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 24.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 463.

the servants employed in the internal and external services of the god, and these are well distinguished from the slaves :

nara-nārī-jana-prāyāḥ vāhy-āntaḥ-paricārakāḥ
kṣetr-ārām-ābhirāmāś = ca grāmās = sa-paśu-kiṅkarāḥ ¹

In fact, later on *paricāraka* or *paricārikā* came to signify rather a particular category of servants who might not have been completely free. Thus the Say Fong inscription of Jayavarman VII mentions them as such and as employed in the different hospitals established by him. In relation to the hospitals these people along with other employees are called *sthitida* or *sthitidāyin* :

punaḥ piṇḍīkṛtās = te tu dvātriṃśat paricārikāḥ
bhūyo = śtānavatis = sarvve piṇḍitas = sthitidais = saha ²

It is not otherwise in the Ta Prohm inscription. The Verse 61 refers to *dāsīs* while Verse 64 mentions the *paricārikās* as a specific category of labourers employed in the hospitals.³ Finally, the Práh Khan inscription also mentions the *paricārikās*.⁴ The two last named inscriptions give us grand totals of persons employed by Jayavarman VII in the numerous temples, hospitals and guest-houses constructed by him till the time of the publication of these inscriptions.

If Cambodian epigraphy knows of examples where the *anak paṃre* and its synonyms *bhṛtya*, *sakarma*, *sakārma*, *karmakara*, *paricāraka* or *paricārikā* are distinguished from slaves, more numerous are instances where inscriptions, both pre-Añkorian and Añkorian, recognize absolutely no distinction between them. A few examples are cited below.

First, the pre-Añkorian Sanskrit inscription of Tūol Añ Tñot prescribes that each year a *bhṛtya* had to be furnished to the god called Śrī Raṇḍāparvateśvara with whom was united the god Śrī Khaṇḍaliṅga. The Khmèr text furnishing greater details of the resources and revenue as annual endowment made for the service of Śrī Raṇḍāparvateśvara from the resources of the god Khaṇḍaliṅga mentions only the slaves (*kñum*, lines 14, 23 ; *kñauṃ* or *kñuṃ*, lines 26-32, 36, 38), while the Sanskrit

1 K. 842, Verse 35, *Ins. Cam.*, Vol. II, pp. 151-55.

2 Verse 26 (*Bul. Eco. Fran. Ext. Or.*), Vol. III, p. 17.

3 *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, pp. 44-81.

Ibid., Vol. XLI, Verse 76, pp. 255-301.

counterpart refers none but to the *bhṛtya*, thus establishing a complete identity of the slaves and servants. Indeed, the passage (lines 36-37):
ta dai gui kañjrāp tloñ 1 kñum 1 jamnon ākara ta vraḥ kāmrateñ añ
śrī Khaṇḍaliṅga canlek aṁval vlaḥ 1 pratisaṁvatsara is practically a literal translation of Verse 5 of the inscription which runs as follows :

saṁkhayā vi [ñśa] ti vrher = eko = bhṛtyaḥ paṭadvayaṁ |
*saṁvatsaram = ito dattaṁ śrī-Raṇḍāparvate = śvare ||*¹

Secondly, pre-Añkorian inscriptions sometimes seem to refer to the *anak pañre* as a particular category of slaves. The inscription of Loñvek (?)² informs us that king Jayavarman I asked one of his servants called Pu Neñ Sevabhara to bring 400 *Vrau* (= mod. Prou, an aboriginal people of Cambodia) slaves and offer them to the *Vraḥ Mratāñ Kamratāñ Daṁdaṁ*. The inscription further states that the first variety of slaves the *Mratāñ Kamratāñ Daṁdaṁ* offered to the old Lord (*vraḥ kamratāñ añ ta acas*) consisted of the *anak pañre*. However, considering the fact that many of these bore such respectable titles as *Tāñ* and *Poñ*, a certain doubt may reasonably be entertained as to the servile status of their holders. In this connection it must be remembered that one *Poñ Matisakti* is described as a *pañre tem*³ i. e. an ancient servant or servant by origin. It may be inferred that he was emancipated and only then could have received the appellation *Poñ*, which is to be hardly distinguished from *Poñ* (= modern *Pañ*, elder brother).

In the Añkorian period the *anak pañre* is often presented in inscriptions either as synonymous with *khñum* or as a particular category thereof. If we accept the restitution proposed by Coedès, through the grace of His Majesty king Indravarman (A. D. 877-89) a number of slaves was offered to Bhadreśvara, a Śivaliṅga, by the royal *guru Śiva-soma*. These were grouped into four categories (though the classification does not appear to have been based on any single rational principle) viz. (i) *anak pañre* (here possibly standing for those working within the temple precincts), (ii) *anak sre* (those employed in agriculture), (iii) *anak āgama* (possibly meaning inherited slaves) and (iv) *anak jamnvan* (those

1 K. 561 (Jayavarman I), dated A.D. 681, Verse 5.

2 K. 137, *Ins. Cam.*, Vol. II, pp. 116-17.

3 Inscription of Tūol Kōk Pr'ah, lines 21-22, (K. 493), dated A. D. 657, *ibid.*, Vol. II, p.150.

received as gift).¹ It is futile to question the servile status of these people by maintaining that the text clearly contains the word *khñum* where such persons are intended (cf. *khñum vraḥ gho* or *khñum vraḥ tai* in lines 12, 17, 23, etc. ; *lap khñum*, line 22). It may be pointed out that in all likelihood *khñum vraḥ gho* and *tai* are the exact Khmèr renderings of Sanskrit *devadāsa* and *devadāsī* respectively and since all the slaves were offered to the service of the god Bhadreśvara, there is no point in calling these only as slaves of the god. On the other hand, these appellations are explained better on the assumption that they were the personal names of the slaves concerned. As to *lap khñum*, this undoubtedly refers to the run-away slaves.

Further, during the reign of Jayavarman IV (A. D. 921-42) two persons of importance viz. Kamsteñ Añ Mahīdharavarman and Kamsteñ Añ Śrī Jayavīravarman made independently of each other gifts of *anak pañre āgama* or simply *anak āgama* to *Vraḥ Kamrateñ Añ Śrī Trailokyanātha*.² The break-up of these people conclusively shows that they were slaves. Further confirmation of this state of things is adduced by another inscription from the same place dated in A. D. 971 and found in an extremely ruined condition. As a matter of fact, it is a continuation of the inscription engraved on the northern door-pillar.³ From what remains of the inscription we learn that Śrī Mahīdharavarman offered to the god (evidently V.K.A. Śrī Trailokyanātha) slaves (*khñum*) only, no separate mention being made of the *anak pañre* (*āgama*). It thus becomes all the more probable that the *anak pañre* or *anak āgama* were synonymous with the *khñums*, rather than denoting a particular category of slaves.

For the succeeding period i. e. the reign of Rājendravarman (A. D. 944-68) such seems to have been generally the case. An inscription from Kdei Añ mentions 15 *anak pañre*, the break-up being 7 *si*, 6 *tai*, 2 *kvan* (children). Now the grand total of 133 slaves offered to the god is correct only if the 15 *anak pañre* mentioned above are taken

1 Prāsāt Kand'al Dōm inscription (K. 809), northern door-pillar, *ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 41-42.

2 Prāsāt Kravāñ inscription (K. 270), southern door-pillar, line 8, and northern door-pillar, line 26, *ibid.*, Vol. IV, pp. 69-72.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 70, lines 26-28.

into account. ¹ In the same way, the inscription of the Prāsāt Lāk Nān describes all the slaves as work-men (*khñum* is *paṃre*) offered to the godhead or simply as men belonging to him (*anak vraḥ*). ²

It has been earlier noted that the inscription of Prāsāt Kōmph'us of the time of king Jayavarman V distinguishes the *khñum* from the *anak paṃre* (D, line 26). But the distinction is only apparent since the *anak paṃre* are counted together with the *khñums* in the grand total (D, line 37). In the lines which follow (D, lines 38-39), the inscription records the gifts of personnel called *gho*, *tai*, *gvāl*, *rat*, *pau*, *kvan*, etc. to the image of *Kanhyañ Kamrateñ Añ* (Indralakṣmī) by the dowager queen (*Kanloñ Kamrateñ Añ ta acas*) but it makes use of the term *paṃre* only. The simultaneous use of the two synonymous terms, *khñum* and *anak paṃre* in the Prāsāt Kōmph'us inscription may be explained as due to the Cambodian habit of often employing two synonyms together (cf. *suon-chpār* for garden, *pel-velā* for time, etc.).

That the process of integrating the workmen in the rank of slaves continued without hindrance in the time of Jayavarman V is also apparent from an inscription found at Prāsāt O'Romdūd which calls all the slaves servants (*khñum ta paṃre*). ³ A similar equation between the *khñum* and the *paṃre* is to be found in the door-pillar inscription of Kamp'eng Nāi of the time of Sūryavarman I (A. D. 1002-50). The inscription states that the *khñums* ensure the supply of the provisions necessary for the worship of the god (*ta kalpanā*) but the total for all such slaves is given as *phsañ khñum si tai ta paṃre*. ⁴

The process of integration of the *khñum* and the *paṃre* is complete in the inscription of Sdok Kak Thoñ issued in A. D. 1052 during the reign of the successor of Sūryavarman I viz. Udayādityavarman II. The inscription contains the following passage : *dhūli jeñ vraḥ kamrateñ añ kalpanā khñum noḥ nu caṃnat noḥ ta paṃre kamrateñ jagat Śivaliṅga āy Bhadraniketana*. ⁵ Here *paṃre* is to be taken in its etymological sense

1 K. 56, B, lines 27-28 (*ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 9).

2 K. 265 (dated A.D. 960), northern door-pillar, lines 9 and 11 (*ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 103).

It seems to us that the word *paṃre* is connected exclusively with *khñum* but Coedès takes it otherwise (*ibid.*, p. 105).

3 K. 659, line 23, *ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 144.

4 K. 374 (dated A.D. 1042), line 11, *ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 251.

5 K. 235 (D, lines 84-85), *Bul. Eco. Fran. Ext. Or.*, Vol. XLIII, p. 92.

of an agent or servant and the passage quoted above may be translated as follows : 'prescription of the *dhūli jeṇ V. K. A.* : those slaves and those establishments will be the servants (i. e. means of functioning) of the *K. J. Sivaliṅga* at *Bhadraniketana*'. ¹

The expression *khñum ta paṁre* as the agents assuring the service of provision of a foundation (*thve camnām kalpanā*) occurs also in an inscription from *Vat Ph'u* of the time of *Sūryavarman II* (A. D. 1113-50).²

Finally, it may be shown that *karmakara* or *karmakāra* which is a synonym of *paṁre* is sometimes used interchangeably for *khñum*. Thus, an inscription from *Samroṇ* (issued after A. D. 1107) refers to the purchase of slaves (A, lines 25, 29). But a little later it describes these slaves as *karmakara paripālana kamrateṇ jagat Liṇ [ga] pura* (A, lines 32-33), 'servants employed for the upkeep of the *K. J. Liṅgapura*'.³ Coedès thinks that these men were taken from the personnel of the *K. J. Liṅgapura*.⁴ If such was the case, there was absolutely no distinction between *karmakāra* and *khñum*. But, if, on the other hand, these belonged to the *Bhadreśvarā-śrama*, it would follow that they were slaves in relation to *Bhadreśvarā-śrama* and *karmakāras*, labourers, so far as the *K. J. Liṅgapura* was concerned.

From the above discussion two mutually supplementary conclusions may be derived. First, in the course of time slavery became more generalized so much so that free labourers (*anak paṁre*) of earlier times suffered a marked degradation of status and were gradually reduced to the position of slaves (*khñum*). They had the same appellations as slaves (*si* and *tai*), and a similar organization of work. Like that of any slave their services could be requisitioned as substitute for work to be rendered by another person (*panlās*). In the *Prāsāt Cak* inscription the *paṁre* were thus employed to serve the god *V. K. A. Śakabrāhmaṇa* in lieu of the

1 Dupont opines : *Paṁre désigne ici manifestement le fonctionnement de la fondation* (*ibid.*, p. 130, note 9) but he is hardly justified because the derivative meaning of the word is agent or servant (from *pre*, to serve).

2 K. 366 (dated A.D. 1139), Face A, line 22, *Ins. Cam.*, Vol. V, pp. 291-94.

3 K. 258 (published after the accession of *Dharaṇindravarman* to the throne in A.D. 1107), *ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 195.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 195, note 3.

founder.¹ For reasons not known to us but which may be intensely political in nature and related with the war of succession after Jayavarman V (A. D. 961-1000), in the eleventh and twelfth centuries A. D. even members of the high society were reduced to slavery, though they were allowed to retain their aristocratic titles. Thus, in an inscription from Pràsàt Cak which is appreciably later than the time of Sūryavarman I (A. D. 1002-50) two persons called Teñ Hyañ and her husband Loñ Las introduce themselves to the king as *khñum pañcyam pañre ta jā cañmryañ*, 'slave for food, servant in the capacity of singers'.² At first, it would appear that *khñum pañcyam* has been used by them only as a polite mode of introduction and their rather aristocratic titles of *Teñ* and *Loñ* would not warrant a servile status for them. But it may be pointed out that in the inscription of Phnom Cisor (dated A. D. 1116, reigning king Sūryavarman II) all the slaves (*khñum*) bear the very same titles.³

Secondly, from the inscriptions, referred to above, it may be noted that while an expression like *khñum ta pañre*, i. e. slaves who are servants, occurs frequently, one does never come across an expression like *pañre ta khñum* i. e. servants who are slaves. It may therefore be stated that the condition of the slaves was progressively improving and in the 11th-12th century A. D. some of them retained their earlier aristocratic titles even after being reduced to slavery.

It may thus be maintained that the distinction between ordinary free men and slaves was narrowing down so much so that late in the 12th century A. D., with regard to people belonging to different nationalities and affected to the service of temples, hospitals and rest-houses established by king Jayavarman VII (A. D. 1183-1220), the inscription of Práh Khan does not use any term indicative of slavery and in totalizing all the people so employed calls them simply men and women.⁴ However, such characterisation of slaves by itself is of little import since Bṛhaspati in his list of seven kinds of property refers to the slaves in a similar

1 K. 521 (southern door-pillar of the southern door, 850 A.D., line 11 : *pre pañre pañlas vrañ sarira*, *ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 168.

2 *Ibid.*, lines 12-13.

3 K. 32 (lines 12 and 17), *ibid.*, Vol II, p. 138.

4 Cf. Verse 177, *Bul. Eco. Fran. Ext. Or.*, Vol. XLI, pp. 255-301.

way. ¹ What is important to note in the Prāḥ Khan inscription is that it seems to suggest that such people numbering 306372 were not only settled but literally attached to the 13,000 villages. This is to say that these persons affected by the king to the service of the temples, etc., were neither full-fledged slaves nor free labourers in the real sense of the term. Juridically speaking, their position was somewhat intermediate between slavery and free contract labour. Whether the new relationship established in agricultural production as also in the internal services of the temples, etc. should be called serfdom remains to be seen. One fact, however, is clear : The large-scale use of slave labour for production came to an end by about the end of the 13th century A. D. This is attested to by the Chinese diplomat Tcheou Tà-kouan who visited the country in A. D. 1295-96. He mentions only moderate use of slaves and that too in the domestic sphere. ² He also states that slaves could be had only from among the savage mountain peoples. ³ It may be noted that earlier the Prāḥ Khan inscription of Jayavarman VII mentioned foreigners like the Campa (Chams), Yavanas, Pukam (Burmese) and Vvam (Vietnamese) as working in the fields, temples and other establishments founded by him. Taking the evidences supplied by Tcheou Tà-kouan and the inscription of Prāḥ Khan, it would appear that the indigenous Khmèr people could hardly be reduced to slavery any more. In any case, a steady rise in the price of slaves is noticeable. While the price for an able-bodied slave was 15 *yau* (rolls) of *canlyak* (cloth) in the time of Jayavarman V, ⁴ at the time Tcheou Tà-kouan visited the country it shot up to 100 rolls of cotton-stuff. ⁵ Thus, slavery as a mode of production came to an end in Cambodia at best from the close of the 13th century A. D. The forces and factors which brought about this revolutionary change clearly fall outside the scope of the present study.

- 1 Ed. K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, p. 74. Cf. *Paśu-strī-puruṣādīnām=iti dharmo=vyavasthītaḥ/Yady=ekaśāsane grāma-kṣetrā-rāmāś=ca lekhitāḥ/ekadeś-opabhoge=pi sarve bhuktā bhavanti te//*.
- 2 *Mémoires sur les coutumes du Combodge* (Oeuvres posthumes de Paul Pelliot, Vol. III), Section 9, Nouvelle Edition, p. 19.
- 3 *Ibid.*, p. 19.
- 4 Prāsāt Kōk Pō (K. 255), door-pillar I, lines 2-11, *Bul. Eco. Fran. Ext. Or.*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 405.
- 5 *Loc. cit.*

THE ARAMAIC LANGUAGE AND ITS PROBLEMS IN THE EARLY HISTORY OF IRAN AND AFGHANISTAN

C. D. CHATTERJEE

I

ARAMAIC—ITS PERIOD AND SPHERE OF CURRENCY

THE ARAMAIC LANGUAGE WAS one of the four oldest principal languages of Asia, but junior most to all of them, if we take the period of its currency into consideration. The oldest Asian languages are, (i) *Chandas*, the language of the *Vedas* (mentioned by the Buddha and Pāṇini), (ii) *Zend*, the language of the *Āvestā*, (iii) Chinese, and (iv) Aramaic. It is an established fact in Philology, that if a language is ridden by rigid grammatical rules, it is bound to degenerate and transform itself into another which is an easier vehicle of expression. We may cite here the names of the first two, as typical examples thereof. Thus, *Chandas* transformed itself into Prakrit and *Zend*, into Pahlavi; but Aramaic continued to maintain its own, throughout the long period of its history, obviously because it was not so much grammar-ridden like the other two. Since it was the most popular of all the languages belonging to the northern branch of the Semetic family, it was adopted by Jesus Christ and his preceptor, John the Baptist, for delivering their sermons. Scholars interested in Semetic languages have noticed three different forms of Aramaic, which are slightly different from one another. It is a common linguistic phenomenon which has been observed in the case of a language, if it is typically archaic in character and was spoken over an extensive area, like Aramaic. In the Greek version of the *Old Testament*, it has been mentioned as Syriac. The name clearly shows that the evolution of that language had taken place in Syria which in ancient times was also known as Aram. Obviously, therefore, the name Aramaic has been derived from Aram or Syria.

It is not possible for us to determine the upper or the lower limit of the period of the currency of the Aramaic language with any amount of certainty; nor can we give a correct idea of the extensive area over

which it was spoken in Western Asia. However, without any exaggeration, it may be said that its evolution was synchronous with the dawn of Jewish civilization ; and from that point of view, its antiquity would mount as high as B. C. 1200 and perhaps more. In support of our theory, we would like to draw the attention of scholars to the long list of the highpriests of the temple of the Jews at Jerusalem, as preserved in the *Old Testament* (Ezra VII. 1-5) which, though much longer, is similar in character to that occurring on an inscribed pillar of the Lakuliśa Pāśupatas, discovered at Mathura (G. E. 61 = A.D. 380). Aramaic first made its appearance in some written records of the early eighth century B. C., discovered at Damascus, and Arslan Tas, and also at a few other places, in Syria. They were written mainly on papyrus but appear to have been inscribed also on ivory. It, thus, appears that the Aramian kings of Damascus, Hama, and Sam Al used to import ivory from India for the manufacture of such precious articles in their own country. History of the Achaemenid period shows that Aramaic was introduced in Egypt by Cambyses I about 600 B. C., when it came under his possession. The exact reason as to why he preferred Aramaic to Old Persian, which was his mothertongue, is not known.

There is a sharp difference of opinion among scholars regarding the downward limit of the period of currency of the Aramaic language. According to Giovanni Garbini, the particular type of Aramaic that has been found to occur in the inscriptions discovered at Shar-i Kuna, Pul-i Darunta, and Taxila, belongs to the period extending from c. 500 to 100 B. C. (*Serie Orientale Roma*, No. XXIX). The epigraphic records referred to by that learned scholar apparently belong to the Mauryan period. Since that Taxila inscription was discovered at Sirkap, it stands to reason that at least up to 100 A. D., the Jews could read and understand its implications, till the end of the first century A. D. According to Marshall, Sirkap, the second city of Taxila, was abandoned towards the end of the first century A. D., when its population moved to Sirsukh, the third city and new political headquarters of the Kuṣāṇas in Eastern Gandhāra (Hazāra Dist., Pakistan). Incidentally, it may be mentioned here that the white marble pillar, bearing that inscription, must have been removed to Sirkap from the Bhir Mound, the first city of Taxila, where it was originally set up, presumably, in the synagogue or temple

of the Jews. This fact has been revealed by two distinct references to Aśoka, occurring in it, in the form of *Mran Prydrs* ('Our Lord Priyadarśi').

The history of the Essene sect of the Jews, which is known to have flourished in Palestine, from c. 150 B. C. to 70 A. D., throws much light on the development of the Aramaic and the period of its currency in Western Asia. Voluminous Aramaic records, written on papyrus, came to light in Palestine, in 1947, which are believed by some scholars to constitute the sacred literature of that sect. It comprises six hundred volumes of religious works, all of which were composed exclusively in Aramaic, and were discovered within a hill-cave, known as Kumran, near the Dead Sea. Those scholars also believe that the above-mentioned scriptures were kept concealed within that cave to prevent them from being destroyed by the Roman army, when it came into conflict with the Essene sect of the Jews, sometime between A. D. 66 and 70. Since those scriptures were written on papyrus, they stood well the test of time. We believe that those religious tracts would not only throw light on the Essene sect, but also on its religious concepts of the pre-Christian period. Evidently therefore, Aramaic maybe said to have been the spoken language of the Jewish community, at least up to the end of the first century A. D., as has been suggested also by the Indian evidence, referred to above.

Some scholars are, however, of the opinion that it was not Hebrew but Aramaic that was the spoken language of the Jews, during the third century A. D. How long the Aramaic language was current in Afghanistan and North-West India, is, indeed, difficult to say, since the Jewish community in the East has left no documentary evidence of its political gains, if any, that is acceptable in sober history.

The earliest written records in Aramaic tend to show that the primitive home of that language was Central and Western Syria. With the spread of the Jewish civilization and culture in Egypt, Palestine (Judah), Israel, and Lebanon, as also in the land lying to the north of the Achaemenid satrapy of Arabia, Aramaic appears to have firmly established itself in those countries as well. This fact has been attested to, not only by the *Old Testament* (Exodus, Esther and Ezra), but also by a number of Aramaic records written on papyrus. Bas-reliefs showing a scribe, writing a short note in Aramaic script on papyrus, with pen and ink, have come to light in the ancient province of Assyria, which

centuries later, became a satrapy in the Achaemenid Empire. This important archaeological discovery has undoubtedly a distinct bearing on the sphere of currency of the Aramaic language. Since Aramaic belonged to the Northern Semetic group like Phoenician and Hebrew, it could not penetrate into Arabia and replace it, as it was the predominant language of the South Semetic group. There is no denying the fact that Aramaic being the mothertongue of the Jews and more easily understandable than Hebrew, it was adopted by Jesus Christ for delivering his sermons, so that they might not create any difficulty of reproduction or interpretation for his devotees. It may be noted here that it was also the desire of Gautama the Buddha that his sermons should be remembered, as he put it, in 'our own language' (*sakāya niruttiyā*). By the expression 'our own language', he obviously has referred to the refined or chaste language of the Śākya country, in which Pali Canon was composed. The rule, framed by him for that purpose, occurs in the *Vinaya-piṭaka* (Cullavagga, V. 33. 1).

II

ARAMAIC AND ITS PROBLEMS

We have given above a brief description of the Aramaic language, with special reference to its period and the sphere of currency, as also to its importance in the cultural history of the Jewish community. Such an exposition, we believe, was needed for understanding clearly the problems created by that language in the history of the Mauryas, so far as it relates to Afghanistan and North-West India. Since one of those problems is intimately connected with the history of the Achaemenids, it has not been possible for us to overlook or ignore the same. Generally speaking, the problems concern both Ancient India and Ancient Iran; and, as such, we should critically study them from that perspective as well.

The problems referred to above are two in number. They may be presented before scholars in the manner noted below.

(i) What is exactly the relation between the Aramaic script and Kharoṣṭhī?

(ii) Was the Aramaic language the *lingua franca* of the Achaemenid Empire and also the official language of Iran and Afghanistan up to B. C. 330? What was its exact status in the Mauryan Empire?

It will be seen, from what has been stated above, that one of our problems relates to the Aramaic script and the other to the Aramaic language, but both of them have a distinct bearing on the Mauryan Empire of the time of Aśoka. Before we proceed further to discuss the problems, we would like to inform that so far only four inscriptions in Aramaic language have come to light within the limits of the Mauryan Empire, of which three are in Afghanistan and only one in North-West India (Gandhāra). They are (1) Pul-i Darunta Rock inscription ; (2) Shar-i Kuna Rock inscription ; (3) Shalatak-Qargha Rock inscription* ; and (4) Taxila Marble Pillar inscription (Sirkap).

Of the four inscriptions mentioned above, the first three were published by Aśoka himself and are to be considered to be new Minor Rock Edicts. The fourth one is definitely private in character and appears to have been published by the Jews, during the reign of that Mauryan Emperor. It was engraved on a white marble pillar, when Aśoka was the ruler himself, and not the viceroy of Taxila, during the life time of his father Bindusāra. That Aśoka became the viceroy of Taxila, in succession to Susīma, is evident from the *Divyāvadāna* and the *A-yü wang-chuan*, the Chinese version of the long-lost *Aśokāvadāna*.

Marshall is of the opinion that the Taxila inscription was engraved when Aśoka was the viceroy, on the ground that he has been styled *mran*, 'Our Lord'. For two specific reasons, his opinion is not acceptable to us. First of all, the expression 'Our Lord', as pointed out by Garbini, refers to the king only ; and to substantiate his opinion, he has drawn our attention to certain ancient Aramaic records on papyrus and ivory, discovered in Syria (*Serie Orientale Roma*, No. XXIX). Secondly, the *Dīpavaṃsa* (VI. 23-24) informs us that Aśoka assumed the name Piyadassī (Priyadarśī) at the time of his consecration. It appears, therefore, that 'Aśoka' was his birth-name which was given to him by his mother (*Divyāvadāna*) and 'Priyadarśī' was his coronation-name. In view of the facts stated above, we should translate the expressions *Mran Prydrs* and *Mraz Prydrs*, occurring in the Taxila and the Shar-i Kuna inscription

* [Of the four inscriptions of Aśoka discovered at this site, two are in Aramaic language and they 'differ from all previously known inscriptions of this king (both Prakrit and Aramaic) first of all in that they are for the most part itineraria' (cf. V. A. Livshitz and I. Sh. Shifman in *Vestnik Drevnei Istorii*, 1977, No. 2, pp. 7-24).—Ed.]

respectively, as 'Our Lord Priyadarśi', and assign those two epigraphic records to the period, when Aśoka was the ruler of the Mauryan Empire which comprised both Afghanistan and Baluchistan of the present time.

The existence of so many records in Aramaic, within a compact area, which was once the North-Western division of the Mauryan Empire with its political headquarters at Taxila, presupposes the migration of the Aramaic-speaking people from Western Asia and their settlement in the provinces of Kandahar and Laghman, in Afghanistan, as also in the Rawalpindi District of Pakistan. Regarding the communities that used Aramaic as their spoken language, according to the *Old Testament*, were the Chaldeans (Daniel II. 4) and the Jews. Since the Chaldeans did not belong to the Semetic race, whether northern or southern, they abandoned Aramaic and adopted later, Old Persian as their spoken language. No cogent reason can be adduced for the same, excepting that Old Persian was the 'king's language' which was commonly used for official purposes. Typical examples may be cited, even from the history of India, to illustrate the adoption of the king's language in preference to the vernacular. It clearly appears from the *Old Testament* and the voluminous Aramaic records written on papyrus, particularly those belonging to the Essene sect of Palestine, that the mothertongue of the entire Jewish community was the Aramaic language. We have also mentioned above that Jesus Christ being of Jewish origin, delivered his sermons in Aramaic. It is evident, therefore, that the Aramaic-speaking people, in the empire of Aśoka, were the Jews who had migrated from Western Asia long before the Mauryan supremacy was firmly established in Afghanistan, where most of his inscriptions in Aramaic have come to light.

III

THE ARAMAIC SCRIPT AND KHAROṢṬHĪ

Western scholars are generally of the opinion that Kharoṣṭhī was derived from the Aramaic script. The theory was originally started by E. Thomas and was accepted by such eminent scholars as Taylor, Cunningham, Bühler and Rapson, some of whom, in fact, have cited fresh evidence in support of the same (*Indische Palaeographie*,

II, Sec. 8 ; *Camb. Hist. of Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 62). Now the question before us is, to what extent would the theory of Thomas be acceptable to Indian palaeography ? To form an opinion of the relation existing between the two, we should critically compare their respective vowel and consonantal systems as also their individual style of writing. They are the basic principles, whereby the influence of one script upon another and their mutual alphabetical relation can be correctly ascertained. When we compare the two, following the aforesaid guidelines, we come to the following conclusions :

(i) The Aramaic script represents the Semetic form of writing and was best suited to give expression to the Aramaic language. Like all forms of Semetic script, it was also written from right to left. The Hebrew and the Arabic mode of writing are typical examples of the Semetic style. According to Thomas, the influence of the Aramaic method of writing is clearly noticeable on the Kharoṣṭhī script, since the latter was also written from right to left. But the style of writing, that is common to the Indo-Germanic group of languages, is that all of them are invariably written from left to right. From this point of view, it, indeed, appears to be a strange phenomenon in Indian palaeography, that a large number of inscriptions in Prakrit dialects, discovered in Western and North-Western India, as also in Afghanistan and Central Asia, which belong to the period extending from the middle of the third century B. C. to the end of the fourth century A. D. approximately, were written in Semetic style. This is, however, not all. Leaving aside the Prakrit legends on the coins of many Indian rulers of foreign extraction, certain Sanskrit works are known to have been written in Kharoṣṭhī, in preference to Brāhmī or its derivatives. Though not belonging to the Semetic group, Persian is another language that was written from right to left, very probably due to the influence of Arabic (South Semetic). We accept tentatively the theory of Thomas as correct, since no evidence has come to our notice so far, to contradict the same ; although it requires a thorough investigation, to find out as to what extent it is acceptable to Indian palaeography. We have fully discussed this important point below, since, in accepting the theory of Thomas and Bühler, one will have to determine how, when, and where the influence of the Aramaic script had come upon Kharoṣṭhī.

(ii) VOWELS AND CONSONANTS—RADICAL SIGNS

(A) *Vowels*. There is a marked difference between the Aramaic and the Kharoṣṭhī script as regards the vowel signs. Since the latter was the vehicle of expression of North-Western Prakrit, it has only five signs, each representing a particular vowel. The three vowels, viz ā, ī, and ū, which are used in other forms of Prakrit as initial and medial, are not to be found in the North-Western variety of the same. Those three vowels also do not appear in the Aramaic script, either as initial or as medial. In fact, there is no initial vowel in that script. But the fundamental difference between the two is in their individual mode of representing a vowel. While in respect of the vowel signs, there is nothing special in Aramaic script, in Kharoṣṭhī, the sign of the same initial vowel *a* is used to represent *i*, *u*, *e*, and *o*, by adding a single short stroke in the body of that radical sign, in different ways, one for each of those four vowels. This is indeed a novelty in Indian palaeography ! When we compare the vowel-signs of one script with the corresponding ones in the other script, we do not find any apparent similarity between them. The influence of the signs of one script on those of the other, so far as the vowels are concerned, cannot therefore be established palaeographically.

(B) *Consonants—Radical Signs*. It may be noted here that there are twenty-two consonants in Aramaic as against thirty-two of the North-Western Prakrit. We should therefore expect twenty-two signs of consonants in the Aramaic script and thirty-two in Kharoṣṭhī. The classification of the consonants, as given below, will enable us to find out the missing consonants in the former as also in the latter.

The consonants may be classified, through their respective phonetic characters, in the following manner :

	<i>Aramaic</i>	<i>Prakrit (North-Western)</i>
<i>Gutturals</i>	(<i>Hard and Aspirate</i>)	4 ... 4
<i>Palatals</i>	(" ")	— ... 4
<i>Linguals</i>	(" ")	1 ... 4
<i>Dentals</i>	(" ")	4 ... 4
<i>Labials</i>	(" ")	4 ... 4
<i>Nasals</i>	(<i>n and m</i>)	2 ... 4 (<i>n̄, ṇ, ñ, and m</i>)
<i>Sibilants</i>	(<i>s</i>)	1 ... 3 (<i>ś, ṣ and s</i>)

THE ARAMAIC LANGUAGE AND ITS PROBLEMS

	Aramaic	Prakrit (North-Western)
Liquids	(y, r, l and v)	4 ... 4 (same)
Spirant	(h)	1 ... 1 (same)
Asperrimus	(Semetic z)	1 ... —

From what has been stated above, it will be seen that, leaving aside the sign of the Asperrimus z, we shall have to compare those of the consonants, common to both the scripts. It *ipso facto* means that we shall have to institute a critical comparison between the radical signs of the twenty-one Aramaic consonants with their counterparts in Kharoṣṭhī. In the opinion of Bühler, the signs of most of the vowels and consonants in Kharoṣṭhī have been borrowed from the Aramaic script ; and he has placed twenty test-cases before us, in tabular form, in support of the same (*Ind. Pala.* , II, Sec. 9, A). Now the question before us is, which are the signs in Kharoṣṭhī that may be considered to be the borrowed ones, because of their striking similarity ?

Bearing in mind that there are thirty-two radical signs of consonants in Kharoṣṭhī, as against twenty-one of the Aramaic script (excluding the Semetic z), if we proceed for an analytical comparison from the standpoint of palaeography, we come to the following conclusions :

(a) Bühler is completely silent as to how and wherefrom the extra eleven signs of consonants mentioned above had come in Kharoṣṭhī. Earliest epigraphic records in that script testify to the fact that all of them were regularly and correctly used.

(b) In the opinion of Bühler, the archetypes of most of the letters, representing consonants in Kharoṣṭhī, are to be found in the Aramaic script. He has also made an attempt to establish his theory by taking each of those signs in the latter into consideration. His attempt to trace their origin and development is ingenious but unconvincing. We have failed to follow him in his flight of imagination, regarding the formation of the signs of consonants in Kharoṣṭhī, numbering eleven in all. Indeed, the method adopted by that learned scholar to trace the origin and development of those signs from their supposed nuclei in the Aramaic script, is unscientific and unjustifiable.

When we compare the Aramaic script with Kharoṣṭhī from the palaeographical point of view, the similarities that we notice between them are purely nominal. Both were written from right to left like all

the Semetic scripts and have almost similar signs of the four consonants: *n, b, r* and *v*. But the diversities are greater in number than the similarities. We believe that in course of their migration through Asia Minor from Central Europe, the Aryans became acquainted with the Semetic style of writing, from right to left, and had evolved independently a system of writing, during their long period of settlement in Afghanistan. This was, as we believe, the reason as to how the eleven extra signs of consonants had made their appearance in Kharoṣṭhī, and also how a single vowel sign (*a*) came to be used to represent the other four vowels (*i, u, e, and o*), of the North-Western Prakrit, through the combination of short strokes, as stated above. When the Jews migrated from Western Asia to Afghanistan and settled there (c. 650 B.C.), shortly after the Assyrian invasion, mutual borrowing between the two well-developed scripts—the Kharoṣṭhī and the Aramaic, might have become possible, but not to that extent Thomas and Bühler consider it to be.

IV

POSITION OF THE ARAMAIC LANGUAGE IN THE ACHAEMENID AND THE MAURYAN EMPIRE

The opinion that has gained ground among some scholars is that Aramaic was the spoken language of the Achaemenid Empire. From that point of view, the period of its currency may be approximately fixed between B. C. 605 and 330. But we must remember that it was primarily the mothertongue of the Jewish community, and, as such, its antiquity would mount as high as the time of Moses and the Pharaoh king, Ramesis II, if the tradition preserved in the *Old Testament* is to be believed as authentic (Exodus). Since when that language first made its appearance is indeed difficult to say precisely, but it might have been synchronous with the dawn of the Jewish civilization in Western Asia. We have stated below, the opinion expressed by some of those scholars, regarding the position of Aramaic in the Achaemenid and the Mauryan Empire.

According to E. J. Rapson, when North-West India came under Persian rule, during the sixth century B. C. Aramaic was used as a common means of communication for purposes of government throughout the Persian empire (*Camb. Hist. of Ind.*, Vol. I, 1922, p. 62). R. Ghrish.

man goes a step further and states that in the Achaemenian period, Aramaic had become a true *lingua franca* in Asia (i) and was employed particularly for State business, from Egypt to India (*Iran*, 1954, p. 163). D. C. Sircar upholds the view that Aramaic was the language of the Achaemenian administration (*Foreigners in Ancient India*, ed. D. C. Sircar, University of Calcutta, 1970, p. 26).

We, however, totally differ from the opinion expressed by the above-mentioned scholars in respect of the linguistic position of the Aramaic in the Achaemenid Empire, as cited above. We strongly believe that it was originally a regional language and was primarily the mother-tongue of the Jews. They extensively used it in Syria, Palestine, Israel and Lebanon which comprised their primitive home; but evidence is not wanting to show that it was also used by them in their far distant settlements. It should, therefore, be considered to have been their spoken language, during the Achaemenid period and after. That language appears to have been used also by the Chaldeans in the pre-Achaemenid period but was abandoned later, presumably when their territory was absorbed in the empire of the Achaemenids (Daniel, II. 4). In our opinion, the Aramaic was originally a regional language and was used by the Jews; and it has been confirmed, as will be seen from the facts stated below.

(i) The Achaemenid Empire was unquestionably multi-lingual. There were many spoken languages like Babylonian, Elamite, Old Persian, Egyptian, Aramaic (North Semetic), Arabic (South Semetic), Greek and Prakrit. To this list, may be added three distinct forms of monosyllabic dialects used by the three branches of the Śakas (Chinese, Sse), settled in widely separated localities within the empire. There might have been other dialects which were used by a large number of tribes of dubious origin particularly on the eastern side of Persia, as we know from the history of the Assyrians and the Medes.

(ii) Like the variety of languages, different forms of script were used in the vast dominion of the Achaemenids, as we can reasonably believe. We may specially mention here the Cuneiform, the Hieroglyphic, the Greek, the Aramaic and the Kharoṣṭhī script. In this context, we would like to draw the attention of Indologists to some archaeological discoveries made earlier, in what might be said to have been the satrapy

of Assyria of the Achaemenids. From an ancient site, in that locality, were recovered some metallic bas-reliefs, two of which are important for our purpose. In one, a scribe is represented as writing on a metallic sheet or plate in Cuneiform script, with the help of stylus; while in the other, as mentioned above, another has been shown as writing on papyrus in Aramaic script, with pen and ink. These interesting archaeological artifacts confirm our belief that both the Cuneiform and Aramaic scripts were current side by side, for the languages they individually represent, and that the same was equally true in respect of the other forms of scripts and languages, as is reasonable to believe.

(iii) Regarding the period and the sphere of currency of the Aramaic language and the tribe that used it as its mothertongue, welcome light has been thrown by the *Holy Bible*, particularly the *Old Testament* portion of it. It is also essential for studying the early history of the Jewish community, as also of their religion and culture. In this context, it may be mentioned here that in the Greek version of the *Holy Bible*, the Aramaic language has been mentioned as Syriac, while in the Hebrew version, as Aramaic. It is true that from many ancient sites in Syria, like Damascus, Hama, Sam Al, and Arslan Tas, Aramaic writings on papyrus and ivory of the pre-Christian period have been recovered. It was probably for this reason that in the Greek version of the *Old Testament*, Aramaic has been mentioned as Syriac.

(iv) Regarding the linguistic position of Aramaic in the empire of the Achaemenids, there are three highly important and interesting passages in the *Old Testament*, which throw much light on the subject. One of them pointedly mentions the period and sphere of currency of the Aramaic language, while the other two reveal its linguistic position in the Achaemenid Empire. The passages in question may be arranged chronologically, since it has been possible for us to do so, with certainty. Two of them relate to the royal orders passed by Ahasuerus (Xerxes), or Khshayārshā, son of Darius I, which were to be strictly carried out all over his empire, stretching from India to Ethiopia (from Hidush to Mudrāya : Persepolis Inscription-H ; Esther I. 1) ; but the third one was entirely of a different nature, and has to be judged in its correct perspective. It refers to a letter, written by the governor of Judah, to Artaxerxes I complaining against the attempt of the Jews to rebuild the

temple of Jehova at Jerusalem which was demolished by the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar (c. 604-562 B. C.). It clearly appears from the *Old Testament* that the aforesaid Achaemenid governor and his colleagues were extremely hostile to the Jewish community, whatever be the reason; and this fact has become all the more evident from the same scripture, wherein it is said that the Achaemenid monarch Cyrus the Great had issued an order previously to the effect that the Jews be permitted to rebuild the temple of their god Jehova and that the precious temple property, plundered by the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar, should be handed over to them. The order of Cyrus was written on a scroll, which was known to the Jews, since they had prayed to him for the restoration of their religious rights. The charges levelled against that community by the governor of Artaxerxes were definitely false.

The different lines of evidence, mentioned above, along with that available from the Persepolis Inscription-H of Xerxes may now be considered for our purpose.

A. ROYAL ORDER RELATING TO THE DEMOLITION OF DAIVA TEMPLES

The Achaemenid monarch Khshayārshā issued an order to the effect that all the *daiva* temples should be razed to the ground, that the idols of *deva* installed in them should be destroyed, and that in their places, new sanctuaries should be constructed for the worship of the god Ahuramazdā and the Brazmani Artā, one in each.

The aforesaid information relating to the iconoclastic activities of Xerxes, is not to be found in the *Old Testament*, but in the Persepolis Inscription of the king. We have made a special reference to it, so that our readers may form an idea of the relative position of Old Persian and Aramaic, as official languages of the Achaemenid Empire. The inscriptional passage in question runs as follows :

...*Vashnā Ahuramazdahā ava dahyāvam adam ajanam utashim gāthavā nīshādayam utā antar aitā dahyāva āha yadātya paruvam Daivā ayadiypasāva vashnā Ahuramazdahā adam Daivadānam Viyakanam utā patiyazbayam Daivā mā yadiyaish yadāyā paruvam Daivā ayadiy avadā adam Ahuramazdām ayadaiy artāchā brazmaniy.*¹

1 Persepolis Inscription—H, lines 33-41.

B. ROYAL ORDER RELATING TO DIVORCE

The Achaemenid Emperor Ahasuerus passed an order to the effect that any married woman, proving disobedient to her husband, should be divorced forthwith. The order was made applicable all over the empire and to all the tribes and communities '...he sent letters into all the kings' provinces, into every province according to the writing thereof, and to every people after their language, that every man should bear rule in his own house, and that it should be published according to the language of every people' (*Hebrew* : 'that one should publish it according to the language of his people').¹

C. ROYAL ORDER RELATING TO THE GENOCIDE OF THE JEWS

Emperor Ahasuerus passed an order to the effect that on a specific date fixed for the purpose, all the Jews should be put to death, without any exception of age or sex. The order should be strictly enforced even in the case of the babies born of the Jews.

'The king's secretaries were then called in the first month of the thirteenth day of it, and writing went on according to all that Haman commanded the king's satraps and the governors who were over the different jurisdictional districts, and the princes of the different peoples, of each jurisdictional districts, in its own style of writing, and each people in its own tongue ; in the name of King Ahasuerus it was written and it was sealed with the king's signet ring.

And there was a sending of the letters by means of couriers to all the king's jurisdictional districts, to annihilate, to kill and to destroy all the Jews, young man as well as old man, little ones and women, on one day, on the thirteenth (day) of the twelfth month, that is, the month of A-dar, and to plunder the spoil of them.'²

D. LETTER TO ARTAXERXES FROM THE GOVERNOR OF JUDAH

To prevent the Jewish community from rebuilding the city of Jerusalem and the temple of Jehova which were razed to the ground by Nebuchadnezzar, the governor of Judah and his colleagues wrote a letter to the Achaemenid Emperor Artaxerxes I threatening him of

1 *Holy Bible* (British and Foreign Bible Society), London, 1917, p. 563.

2 *Holy Bible* (New World Bible Translation Committee), New York, 1961, p. 581.

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serious consequences should he allow the Jews to carry on with the work of reconstruction any further. We find the following in the *Old Testament* :

'...in the days of Artaxerxes, Bishlam, Mithredath, Tabeel and the rest of his colleagues wrote to Artaxerxes, the king of Persia, and the writing of the letter was written in Aramaic characters and translated into the Aramaic language' (Ezra IV. 7).¹

The relative position of Old Persian and Aramaic, as official languages of the Achaemenid Empire, is now evident, since it has been clearly demonstrated by the biblical and inscriptional references to it, which have been cited above. While both of them were the official languages, there is a marked difference in respect of the manner in which they were respectively used by the government. This fact is apparent from the passages cited above. However, they may now be discussed in their proper perspective, so that we may correctly form our individual opinion on the relative position of Old Persian and Aramaic in the empire of the Achaemenids. We shall now consider the four lines of evidence one by one, as they are needed for our purpose.

The only purpose of the Persepolis Inscription-H (No. A) is evidently to give wide publicity to the order issued by Khshayārshā (Xerxes) for the demolition of the temples of the Hindus in those provinces wherever they existed. We believe that the *daiva* temples in question were the shrines of Śiva, the guardian deity of many cities in Afghanistan and North-West India, founded by the Aryans. We also believe that those places of worship were mostly in the Achaemenid satrapies of Thatagush, Gadāra, and Hidush, and possibly also in Bakhtrish. In this particular line of evidence, we should note that the order of the emperor was in Old Persian which was the 'king's language'. Later, the same order might have been translated into Prakrit (North-Western) for the information of the peoples of Aryan descent, who worshipped the deity specified in the royal order.

The lines of evidence (Nos. B and C), which we have cited above from the *Old Testament*, relate to Emperor Ahasuerus (Xerxes), son of Darius I. One of them (No. B) is with reference to the 'Royal Order

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 552.

relating to Divorce', while the other, (No. C), concerns 'Royal Order relating to the Genocide of the Jews'. There is no counter evidence to doubt the veracity of the two orders, since they are to be found in all the versions of the *Holy Bible*, Aramaic, Hebrew, and Greek. Moreover, they correctly represent the unbalanced state of mind of Xerxes, for which his subjects, in all the parts of the empire, had to suffer.

We believe that both the orders were originally drafted, conforming strictly to the spirit and the letter as the monarch wanted them to be. The text of an order, being approved by the king, was translated by officers acquainted with different provincial languages; and afterwards the same was written on papyrus or metallic scroll, in different scripts current in different provinces. Later, all the letters were despatched to all the governors of different provinces, each getting a copy of the order in the spoken language of his administrative area. In the secretariat of each governor a number of copies of that order, apparently in the language of the province, were made for circulation among all high government officials, princes and nobles, so that they might read it in their own language. Any better arrangement to give wide publicity to the royal orders, in those days, under the prevailing circumstances, was not found possible, since it is evident from the passages of the *Old Testament*, cited above, that all government officials connected with the administration of a province, had the opportunity of reading the royal order in their own language. To be explicit, all those who were connected with the administration of a particular province should read the royal order in the spoken language of that administrative division. There is, thus, no question of Aramaic or Old Persian as being the language used for administrative purposes or as being the *lingua franca* of the vast Achaemenid Empire. If the evidence of the *Old Testament* be correct, both Aramaic and Old Persian should be considered to be two different provincial vernaculars even though the latter was the king's language, as suggested by the Persepolis Inscription-H and other epigraphic records of the Achaemenian rulers.

We should now take into consideration No. D which is our fourth line of evidence. It shows the reverse process of correspondence, i. e., a letter coming from a provincial governor, to his overlord, the crowned head of the state. The purpose of writing that letter to Artaxerxes I,

as it appears from the *Old Testament*, was to malign the Jewish community, so that they might remain down-trodden as before. The governor and his colleagues or cabinet members in the provincial government cautioned the king in that letter, that, should the Jews be allowed to rebuild the city of Jerusalem and the temple of Jehovah, situated therein, which were razed to the ground by Nebuchadnezzar, they would be a perpetual menace to the government by being a well-organized hostile tribe and would not pay the revenue. It appears, also from the same source, that the Achaemenid monarch fully accepted the complaints made by the aforesaid governor.

What we are to note specially in the biblical evidence, cited above, is that the letter in question was written in Aramaic which was evidently the spoken language of the twin-provinces of Judah and Israel. Apparently, the governor and his colleagues were the natives of that linguistic sphere, including the scribe who wrote that letter. Some government officer, who was well-acquainted with both Aramaic and Old Persian, translated that letter in the 'king's language' i. e. Old Persian, so that he may understand distinctly every word of the letter sent to him. An important fact, revealed by the *Old Testament*, is that, in the imperial secretariat at Persepolis, there were many government officers and scribes who were conversant with all the languages spoken in the Achaemenid empire. There was, thus, no difficulty in carrying on the business of the government, as will be seen from the other two lines of evidence (Nos. B and C), suggested by the *Old Testament*.

Regarding the status of Aramaic as the official language of the Achaemenid and the Maurya Empire, we have come to the following conclusions :

(A) Achaemenian Empire

(i) All orders, meant for the State or the public, were issued by the Achaemenid rulers in Old Persian which was the king's language. It was actually the mothertongue of the Pārsā community to which the Hakhāmanisis (Achaemenids) belonged. The discovery of a number of Achaemenid records in Old Persian, whether incised on slabs of stone or on plates of gold and silver, in Cuneiform script, fully bears out the same.

(ii) Orders passed by the Achaemenid rulers, whether relating to

the State or to the public, were sometimes written on metallic scrolls which were preserved in royal archives for future reference. We have reasons to believe that all of them were in the king's language. At the time of Darius II (c. 423-04 B. C.), there was the need of consulting an old order passed more than a century and a quarter ago, by Cyrus II (B. C. 558-30), which was also written on a scroll and preserved in the archives of the Achaemenid rulers which, according to the *Old Testament*, was situated in a fortified place, in the city of Ecbatana, in Media (Ezra, VI. 2).¹

(iii) When the order of the Achaemenid monarch had been translated into all the current provincial languages, in the imperial secretariat at Ecbatana, Susa, or Persepolis, by competent officers, each knowing a particular provincial language, besides Old Persian, the authorised translated texts of the royal decree were despatched to all the governors, each getting a copy of the order in the language of his administrative area. Thus, according to the arrangement which we consider to be the best, under the prevailing conditions, the governor of Yaūna (Ionia) would get a copy of the order in Greek and that of Judah, the same, in Aramaic. Since Aramaic was not only the spoken language of the land of the Israelites but also of a considerable portion of Syria, the Achaemenid governor posted at Damascus, the provincial head-quarters, was most likely to get a copy of the royal order in that language.

(iv) To give wide publicity, a large number of copies of the royal order, in its authorized translated form, used to be prepared in the secretariat of each governor for distribution among his cabinet members, princes, nobles, and all government officials, high or low. Since the copies of the order, so distributed, were in the spoken language of the province and 'in its own style of writing', there was no difficulty in understanding the text of the same or its purpose.

(v) The *Old Testament* affirms that in the banquet given by Ahasuerus (Xerxes) in his palace, Susan in Susa, in the third year of his reign, besides the princes (Feudal lords), governors (Satraps), nobles, and other dignitaries, he invited all the jurisdictional magistrates, 127 in all (Esthar 1. 3). It appears therefore that there were 127 jurisdictions

1 *Ibid.*, p. 554.

or districts in the whole of the Achaemenian Empire, each under the charge of a magistrate, and that each province was divided into a number of districts. Under this arrangement, if a particular royal order is to be publicized all over the empire, each district magistrate should be served with a copy of the same, in the spoken language of his jurisdiction, and it should be the duty of the governor to send a translated copy of the same to all the district authorities in his province. We believe that the method adopted by the Achaemenid government to give publicity to a royal order, was verily the same as that adopted by Aśoka, as reflected by his Minor Rock Edict I (Rupnath) and Sarnath Pillar Edict.

The literary and the epigraphic evidence, cited above, suggest not only the position of Aramaic in the Achaemenid Empire, but also its relation to Old Persian. They definitely contradict the opinion expressed by Rapson, Ghirshman, and Sircar, to which we have drawn the attention of scholars, in the preceding pages. From the different lines of evidence noticed above, it will be seen that neither Aramaic nor Old Persian was the *lingua franca* of the Achaemenid Empire, and, at the same time, none of the two was the language that was commonly used for administrative purposes. But there is no doubt that each of them had a definite place in the administrative system of the Achaemenids, along with other current spoken languages : Greek, Arabic, Egyptian, Elamite, Prakrit, and others. Aramaic was primarily the language of Syria and hence in the *Old Testament*, it has been mentioned both as 'Syriac' (Greek version) and 'Aramaic' (Hebrew version). As mentioned above, in ancient times, Syria was known as Aram. Aramaic became the spoken language of Palestine, Israel, and Lebanon, when the Northern Semetic people speaking in that tongue, migrated and settled there. It was their descendants who were the Aramaic-speaking people in Palestine and other countries mentioned above. For this reason, the correspondence between the governor of Judah with the Achaemenid monarch was carried on in Aramaic, and this fact has been clearly borne out by the biblical references cited above. But we must remember that, what was true of Aramaic, was also true of other spoken languages in other provinces or satrapies of the vast dominion of the Achaemenids.

As regards the status of Old Persian, it would be sufficient to mention here that it was the court language during the Achaemenid period,

being the mothertongue of the Pārsā community. We presume that being the 'king's language' it was understood and even spoken in the old and the new seat of government of the Achaemenids, like Parasagadae, Ecbatana (Hamadan), Susa (Susiana), and Persepolis. All royal orders were issued in that language, as suggested by the Persepolis Inscription-H and all letters sent by the governors, in the respective languages of their provinces, had to be read out to the monarch in his mothertongue, as evidenced by the *Old Testament*, Book of Ezra, in the context of the anti-Jewish activities of Artaxerxes I, noticed above.

(B) Mauryan Empire.

Regarding the position of Aramaic in the Mauryan Empire, it would be sufficient to note that it had a definite place in the list of the official languages approved by Aśoka for the publication of his inscriptions. In view of the fact that the Aramaic language was current in Afghanistan, ever since the migration of the Jewish community from the West, in the wake of, as we believe, the Assyrian invasion, towards the middle of the seventh century B. C., it had to be given the same status as Greek and Prakrit, both of which were also current in that country, for the publication of his moral rescripts. Aramaic was actually the mothertongue of the Jews in the early period of their history; and since they were residing in different parts of that country, particularly in the ancient province of Kamboja, Aśoka felt it necessary to publish some special edicts for them, for their edification.¹ But we must

1 It is interesting to note that while all the foreign invaders of Afghanistan and North-West India, in ancient times, like the Greeks (Yavanas or Yonas), the Scythians (Śakas), the Parthians (Pahlavas), the Kushans (Kuṣāṇas), and the Ephthalites (Hūṇas) have been mentioned in literature and epigraphy, the Aramaic-speaking people have not been referred to in them, through any of the names, by which they were popularly known in Western Asia. The names that have been commonly used for them in the *Old Testament* and the *Acts of Saint Thomas*, are the Jews, the Hebrews, and the Israelites, or 'the Sons of Israel'. Another popular name for them is 'Yehudi' by which they are known in the Arab countries. The discovery of four Aramaic records in Afghanistan and North-West India, all of which belong to the reign of Aśoka, clearly testifies to the fact that there were a number of settlements of the Aramaic-speaking people in different parts of those countries. Now the question before us is, how could Emperor Aśoka, like all the ancient authorities

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remember that, though enlisted as an official language for the purpose stated above, it had to remain confined to Afghanistan alone, because the Jews were not to be found in large numbers in any other province in the Mauryan Empire, with the exception of Eastern Gandhāra. There was a big concentration of the Jews in its provincial headquarters, which

in Sanskrit, Pali, or Prakrit literature, fail to mention their name or even refer to them in an appropriate manner ?

Before we proceed further to discuss the aforesaid problem, it should be mentioned here that the Aramaic-speaking peoples in Ancient Iran, were the Jews and the Chaldeans, as mentioned in the *Old Testament* (Ezra and Daniel) and that Aramaic was the mothertongue of the former. But neither the Chaldeans invaded Afghanistan nor they used that language, after the establishment of the Achaemenid supremacy in Iran, as borne out by their later history. In the list of the foreign invaders of Afghanistan, as preserved in the *Anabasis (Indika)* of Arrian, there is no mention of the Chaldeans, apparently because they had no intention of exercising political supremacy over that country.

A clue to the solution of the problem was offered for the first time by some edicts of Aśoka and the Aramaic inscription discovered at Sirkap (Taxila) which also belonged to his reign. In his Rock Edicts V and XIII (excluding the Greek version), the Yonas, or the Greeks, and the Kambojas have been mentioned together as the subject-nations in his empire. The aforesaid rock edicts clearly reflect his pious intention of developing them morally and spiritually and of promoting their happiness and welfare. A clear manifestation of his goodwill and benevolent attitude towards those two foreign communities, domiciled in Afghanistan, is the composite Shar-i-Kuna Edict, engraved on rock, near the old city of Kandahar. On the same face of that rock, there are two inscriptions, one engraved above the other, of which the upper one which is in Greek, represents the 'Yona', while the lower one which is in Aramaic, the 'Kamboja'. The two Minor Rock Edicts at Shar-i Kuna have, thus, correctly solved the problem relating to the real identity of the Yonas and the Kambojas and have also fully explained the significance of the compound *Yona-Kamboja*, occurring in Rock Edict XIII. Had that compound occurred in the Greek version of that edict, the identification of the Kamboja tribe would have been much easier. Aśoka also published two more edicts in Aramaic for the Kambojas in Afghanistan, as he caused Rock Edicts XII and XIII to be engraved in the best interest of the domiciled Greeks, in their mothertongue. They were, however, published in modified form, near Kandahar.

The history of the Kambojas requires a careful and closer investigation. It appears that the Aramaic-speaking people migrated from different parts of Western Asia to

they named as Nāggārūdā. As for the language that was commonly used for administrative purposes in Afghanistan, we are definitely of the opinion that, since the time of Candragupta Maurya, it was Prakrit of the North-Western variety, as it was in Gandhāra, both East and West ; and this fact has been borne out to some extent, through the discovery of certain Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, engraved on rocks, which have been recently discovered near Shalatak in Laghman. *

The recognition given by Aśoka to the Jews of Afghanistan, as his own subjects, and to their mothertongue, as an official language for the publication of his edicts in that country, highly speak of his benevolent attitude and magnanimity towards those domiciled foreigners in his empire.

- Afghanistan, in successive waves, and settled in the ancient Kamboja kingdom which lay between the Hindu Kush and the river Panjshir. It further appears that the first batch of that community came to that country as traders, towards the middle of the seventh century B. C., and that, because of their long stay in the Kamboja kingdom for more than a century, they came to acquire the name Kamboja. Cases like the present one were very common in Ancient India.

* [Of the four Aśokān inscriptions discovered at this site, two are in Aramaic language and Aramaic script, and the other two are in Prakrit language and Aramaic script.—Ed.]

A UNIQUE SILVER COIN OF RAMĀKĀNTASIMHA

VASANT CHOWDHURY and PARIMAL RAY

HISTORICAL SOURCES INFORM that in October, 1796, Ramākāntasimha, son of a Moran chief, was placed on the Ahom throne by the rebels headed by a Moran named Rāgha and that coins were minted in the name of Ramākāntasimha, in the year Śaka 1691 (1769 A. D.).¹ No coin of Ramākāntasimha, however, appears to have been noticed till now. Recently, Sri G. S. Beed of Calcutta acquired from a local silversmith a unique silver coin of Ramākāntasimha and with the kind permission of Sri Beed we publish the same here. The coin may be described as follows :

Metal—Silver; *Size*—Nine-sided, diameter 25.8 mm.;

Weight—16.80 gms. ; *Denomination*—One and half *Ṭaṅka*.

Obverse : Within dotted border from the forepaws of the traditional lion at exergue to its tail, four-line legend in Bengali-Assamese script—(1) *Śrī-śrī-svarga-* (2) *deva-Ramākā-* (3) *ntasimha-nṛpasya* (4) *Śāke 1691 (//*)* ' (Struck by) the illustrious Ramākāntasimha (in the year) Śaka 1691'. *

Reverse : Within dotted border, four-line legend in Bengali-Assamese script— (1) *Śrī-śrī-Aṣṭa-* (2) *bhuja-gosā-* (3) *ñi devatā-* (4) *ra sevaka (//)*

'A worshipper of the illustrious ** Aṣṭa-bhuja-gosāñi'.

The following interesting features make the coin a unique one.

(1) The Ahom coins, with a few exceptions, are octagonal *** in shape, but the present coin is nine-sided—a feature met with for the first time here.

1 Edward Gait, *A History of Assam*, 1st Ed., p. 186. In fact, the real power was vested in Rāgha, who disposed of all important business.

* [Better read.—'(Coin) of the deity of heaven, illustrious king Ramākāntasimha (struck in) Śaka 1691'.—Ed.]

** [Read.—'god'.—Ed.]

*** [The peculiar octagonal shape of the coins is believed to be based on the *Yoginītantra's* description of the Ahom country as octagonal.—Ed.]

(2) The silver coins of the highest denomination of the Ahom kings are found to be struck in the standard of 176 grains (11.40 gms.), apparently based on the *Tanka* of the Sultāns of Bengal. But the weight of the coin under consideration is 259.22 grains (16.80 gms.), i. e. nearly 50% higher than the usual standard weight. Such unusual weight standard is new not only to the history of Ahom coinage but also to coins issued by the kings of Tripura, Cooch Behar, Jayantipur, Manipur, etc. As the weight of the present coin is approximately one and a half times the weight of a rupee (*Tanka*) coin struck by the Ahom kings, it may be said to belong to the denomination of 'one and a half *Tanka*'.¹

(3) The language of the legend on the obverse of the coin under study is Sanskrit, while that of the reverse is Bengali-Assamese. This simultaneous use of two different languages is a unique example in the Ahom currency.*

(4) Traditionally, the reverse legend of the larger denomination of Ahom coins indicates the king's devotion to a particular deity or deities. The present coin follows the tradition, but describes the king as a worshipper of Aṣṭabhujaḡosāṇi devatā, ** a deity to whom, it may be noted, Ramākāntasimha was the first among the Ahom kings to be devoted.

¹ Ramākāntasimha's coins of other denominations, if there were any, are still to be known.

* [Cf. *Journ. Anc. Ind. Hist.*, Vol. VI, pp. 126-31, for the simultaneous use of two different languages (Sanskrit and Persian) and two different scripts (Bengali-Assamese and Persian) found on a copper coin of Vrajanāthasimha issued in Śaka 1739 (1818 A.D.).—Ed.]

** [A form of the god Viṣṇu. The deity is mentioned as Aṣṭabhujaṣvāmin in two Nagarjunikonda inscriptions, one of which is of the time of Ābhira Vasuṣeṇa, and is described in such an early text as the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* (LVIII. 31) of Varāhamihira and also in the *Bhāḡavata Purāṇa* (VI. 4. 36-38). Eight-handed images of Viṣṇu are known from even the Kuṣāṇa period (*Indian History Congress Proceedings of the Fourteenth Session*, Jaipur, 1951, pp.78-79) and two images, one from Badami and the other from Kanchipuram, fairly correspond to Varāhamihira's description (J. N. Banerjea, *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, 2nd Ed., 1956, p. 401).—Ed.]

ĀCĀRYA-VANDANĀ : D. R. BHANDARKAR BIRTH CENTENARY VOLUME

A Unique Coin of Ramākāntasimha



Obverse



Reverse

ARCHITECTURAL DATA IN THE *HAYASĪRṢA PAÑCARĀTRA*

KALYAN KUMAR DASGUPTA

INTERESTING DETAILS ABOUT * the architecture of ancient and medi-aeval India are preserved in the *Hayasīrṣa Pañcarātra*,¹ a Sanskrit text of the 8th-9th century. The fifth chapter (*paṭala*) of the Ādikāṇḍa of this work lays down that of the temples that of Brahmā is to be built at the centre of a city or village; that of Sūrya in the eastern quarter; that of Agni in the south-eastern quarter; that of Yama and Divine Mothers in the southern quarter, those of Caṇḍikā, Pitṛs and Daityas in the south-western quarter; those of Pracetas, Samudra and Sindhu in the south-eastern quarter; those of Kubera, (the Yakṣa-lord), and Skanda in the northern quarter; and that of Śiva (Caṇḍīśa) in the north-eastern quarter, while the temple of Viṣṇu can be constructed in any quarter but according to seasonal facilities. The temple, the text enjoins, should be oriented towards the town or city; and in case of a new temple, it should be so built as not to exceed the one or ones already existing in respect of height; and it should not even be equal in height to the earlier ones. The intervening space between two temples should be double the sum-total of their heights. The shrine of the god *Hayasīrṣa* may be built at the centre of a village, forest, confluence of rivers and in different parts of a town, avoiding a few points of the compass like the south-eastern, south-western and north-western directions. The said shrine, built in eastern, western, southern, northern and north-eastern quarters, will bring about respectively the opulence, attainment of property, peace, enhancement of prosperity and attainment of fortunes of all varieties.

* [Some of these details are also found in certain other Pāñcarātra texts.—Ed.]

1 Consisting of four Kāṇḍas, the first of its Kāṇḍa (Ādi) was edited by Pandit Bhuvan-mohan Sankhyatirtha with a Foreword by D. C. Bhattacharya and published by Varendra Research Society, East Pakistan (now Bangladesh), in two parts in 1953 and 1956. A full-length edition with iconographical, architectural notes, etc. is under the way of publication from the Asiatic Society, Calcutta.

The site of the temple should be a well-chosen one. It should be rectangular, length being double its breadth. Triangular and hexagonal plots as well as plots having the shape of a cow-face, winnowing basket, the back of an elephant, the reptile, the bullock-cart and the trident should always be avoided ; and to this list of avoidable lands is to be added a plot with declivity towards a particular direction.

The following chapter (sixth *paṭala*) begins with a reference to four kinds of site, viz., *Supadmā*, *Bhadrā*, *Pūrṇā* and *Dhūmraveginī* (properly speaking, *Dhūmrā*), which are defined as follows : *Supadmā* abounds in *candana*, *aguru*, *karpura*, * *arjuna*, *tilaka*, *harikela*, *kāśa*, *padma* and *indīvara*; *Bhadrā* is situated on river or sea, considered sacred and abounds in forest, garden, creepers, thicket, sacrificial trees (e. g., *udumbara*, *khadira*) and is fertile; *Pūrṇā* is located at the foot of the hills and abounds in *bakula*, *aśoka*, *plakṣa*, *āmra*, *lohita* (i. e., red sandal), *mādhavī*, *mudga*, *niṣpāva*, *kodrava*, *śuka*, *dhānya*, *punnāga* and is marked by inconsiderable water ; and finally, *Dhūmrā* is sandy and stony, bruising with *bilva*, *arka*, *manasā*, *pīlū* and such thorny trees and is inhabited by vultures, jackals, crows, hawks or kites, and this type of land should be carefully avoided. The *Kapīñjalasaṃhitā* (VII. 1-8), among other Pāñcarātra texts, also refers to four types of land.

Our text then dilates on different modes of testing the soil on the basis of declivity, colour, odour, taste, etc. ¹ The good land, according to it, declines towards east (i. e., the water will flow towards east, if poured on it) ; is free from stones ; * has a plain surface ; and is endowed with a small pond. Then it enjoins to dig out at the centre of the chosen site and to fill it again with the same earth and says that if the earth more than fills the said pit, then the site is good. The suitability of such a plot is determined by further tests : first, its characteristic safflower (*kusumbha*, *carthamus tinctorius*)-colour will not fade away ; second, if an earthen lamp is kept in the pit in this plot, it will burn

* [Read.—'karpura'.—Ed.]

1 Many of these modes of testing the soil are traceable as early as the days of the *Gṛhyasūtras* (cf. *Gobhila Gṛhyasūtra*, IV. 7. 4, 20-23). The *Kapīñjalasaṃhitā* (VII. 10-12a) also describes smell, colour, taste-tests.

2 Cf. the relatively elaborate prescription of the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* (I. 130. 43a) : *Śarkarā-tuṣa-keś=āsthī-kṣār=āṅgāra-vivarjita*.

for a very long time; and third, if this pit is filled with water it will remain for a long time.

The *Hayaśirṣa Pañcarātra* like other texts allots lands to members of different castes on the basis of the colour of the soil. Thus a plot white, red, yellow and black in colour, ¹ smelling like clarified butter, blood, food and wine; sweet, astringent, sour and pungent in taste; and covered by *kuśa*, *śara*, *kāśa* and *dūrvā* is recommended respectively for the four castes in a descending order.

It appears therefore that there is a general agreement between the *Hayaśirṣa Pañcarātra* and other works in regard to certain modes of tests for selecting the site for building houses and temples. The soil that is soft, plain and of sweet odour and taste, is not hollow from inside, and abounds in beneficial herbs, trees and creepers, is recommended in all texts. There are some minor differences, however. As for example, while the *Hayaśirṣa Pañcarātra*, like the *Bṛhatsamhitā*, assigns the pungent taste to the Śūdras, the *Matsya Purāṇa* (CCLIII. 11-13) assigns it to the Kṣatriyas and the astringent one to the Śūdras. Again, while the prescriptions regarding the examination of the earth by touch and sound are absent in the *Hayaśirṣa Pañcarātra*, they are met with elsewhere, as for instance, in the *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra* (VIII. 48-51) and the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* (I. 130). The last-named text (I. 130. 43b) says that the plot which produces the sound of a cloud or drum by striking is good land (*megha-duṁdubhi-nirghoṣā sarva-vīja prarohiṇi*). The mode of testing the soil by sowing seeds is absent in our text, but the *Matsya Purāṇa* lays down that if the seeds sprout in three, five or seven days, the land is of superior, medium or inferior quality respectively. The test by keeping an earthen lamp in a pit of the plot in question is also more elaborate in the *Matsya Purāṇa*. According to it (CCLIII. 13-15), if the

1 Cf. the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*, I. 130. 44 (*Śukla-rakta tathā pīta kṛṣṇa ca kathitā kṣitih/ dvija-rājanya-vaiśyānām-śūdrānām = cayathākramam/*). B. B. Dutt somewhat ingeniously explains this colour scheme—'The complexion of the Brāhmaṇas was white, emblematic of purity and holiness; that of the Kṣatriyas was red, colour of the blood, symbolic of battle and martial spirit; that of the Vaiśyas was yellow, the colour of gold, emblematic of commerce; that of the Śūdras was black, the colour of the non-Aryan low-class people signifying ignorance and dirty habits' (*Town-planning in Ancient India*, Calcutta: and Simla, 1925, p. 57).

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wicks of this lamp oriented towards east burns longest, it is suitable for Brāhmaṇas ; if the southern, western and northern wicks burn longest, it is auspicious for Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras respectively ; if all the wicks burn together in equal brilliance it is good for all the castes (*varṇas*). Similar observation is also found in the *Viśvakarmāprakāśa* (I. 62-64a).

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE WORDS BAMBHAṆA AND BAMHAṆA

S. N. GHOSAL

LÜDERS HAS MADE AN observation in his *Bruchstücke buddhistischen Dramen*, that the term *bambhaṇa* is earlier than *bamhaṇa*.¹ This he made while describing the characteristics of the speech of the wicked, who figures as a character in the fragments of the dramas, that are attributed to Aśvaghoṣa. Lüders calls the speech of the figure as Old Māgadhi.² The word *bambhaṇa*, which Lüders presumes as earlier than *bamhaṇa*, is cited as one of the evidences in support of the archaic character of the speech and its priority to the Māgadhi of the dramas. He cites also the form *haṅgho* in support of his view and considers it as earlier than *haṁho*. Keith while making an estimate of the speech in the Sanskrit drama considers the forms with *bh* and *gh* as fuller implying thereby their priority to those with *h*.³

In fact Pischel first suggested this view, which both Lüders and Keith unhesitatingly accept. Pischel in his *Grammatik* makes a statement like this : 'After nasal vowels *h* can be changed to *gh* but after nasals *h* becomes transferred into the aspirate of the corresponding class of the nasal. In many cases the aspirate is earlier than *h*, as surely in *saṁghaṇa*, Amg. *saṁghayaṇa* = **saṁghatana* = *saṁhanana*, Amg. *saṁghayaṇī* = **saṁghatanī*, *saṁghāra* = **saṁhāra*, *siṁgha* = *siṁha*',⁴ etc.

This view of Pischel does not appear correct to us. We do not think the forms with *gh* or *bh* as earlier than those with *h*. This is owing to the fact that the word *saṁhanana* under no circumstances can be identified with *saṁghatana* and thereby with *saṁghaṇa*. In fact *saṁghaṇa* comes from Sanskrit *saṁghātana*, which is a formative

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 37.

2 *Loc. cit.*

3 A. B. Keith, *The Sanskrit Drama*, p. 86. The words of Keith are—'Fuller forms of consonants remain in *haṅgho* (*haṁho*) and *bambhaṇa* (*bamhaṇa*)'.

Op. cit., Section 267.

of the root *han*-in the causative, while *saṁhanana* is built from the basic root *han*-, that occurs in its original form without being modified by any secondary suffix. The shortening of the long vowel in the second syllable, as evidenced in the Prakrit forms, is obviously caused by the working of the accent and the same admits of an easy explanation.¹ So the forms *haṅgo* and *bambhaṇa* cannot be considered earlier than *haṁho* and *bamhaṇa* respectively, as maintained by the scholars.

There is another point too. The consonants *gh* and *bh* are found to develop into *h* in Prakrit.² Such a development of the former takes place obviously in the intervocalic position only and not in any other situation; but as the sounds *gh* and *bh* come after the nasals in the present cases their reduction to *h* does not seem to have happened in pursuance of that law. So there is no reason to consider the forms *saṅgho* and *bambhaṇa* as earlier on the basis of the consideration that forms with *gh* and *bh* are earlier than those, which show the reduction of the same to *h*. Thus the view of Pischel, Lüders or Keith does not seem to be unchallengeable and free from inaccuracies.

The erroneous nature of the view of these scholars becomes quite evident, if we explain the development of the Prakrit forms *bambhaṇa* and *haṅgho* from their original Sanskrit correspondents. In the case of the former the word *brāhmaṇa* is the source. By the assimilation of the sound *r* to the preceding *b* in the first syllable and the occurrence of metathesis³ in the second along with the shortening of the long

- 1 It is easy to show the development of *saṅghaṇa* from *saṁghātana* with the help of the law of accent. In *saṁghātana* the chief accent (Hauptakzent), which is a stress by nature, stood upon the second syllable, and there was a secondary accent (Nebenton) upon the first syllable. In course of time there happened the shifting of the chief accent, which came from the second to the first syllable. As a result of this shifting the second syllable becomes weak and it shows, as a result of this weakening, the shortening of the long vowel.
- 2 Pischel, *op. cit.*, Section 188. That this transformation happened in the intervocalic position has been categorically stated by Pischel.
- 3 This metathesis happens as a primary development and as the first step of transformations (Cf. Hemacandra, *The Prakrit Grammar*, II. 74). In the same manner *hm* and *hn* develop into *ṇh* (*ibid.*, II. 75).

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vowel, necessitated by the condition of Prakrit, the word *brāhmaṇa* develops into *bamhaṇa* in Prakrit. This is a common development and the Prakrit form is very frequently noted in literature. In the later period the sound *h* coming after the labial nasal becomes transformed into the labial sonant aspirate *bh*, that gives rise to the form *bambhaṇa*. In the same manner the word *bambhacera* has developed from *brahmācarya* through the intermediate stage **bamhacera*, *kambhāra* from **kamhāra* (i.e. from *kaśmāra*¹ and ultimately from *kāśmīra*), *simbho* from *semha*, which ultimately comes from Sanskrit *śleṣman*.²

We note similar development after the dental nasal also. We take the Sanskrit word *cihna*. By metathesis in the second syllable the word at first becomes *cinha*. But as the sound *h* comes after the dental nasal *n*, the sound *h* by being transformed into the corresponding sonant aspirate appears as *dh*, that reduces the form *cihna* ultimately into *cindha* or *cendha* in Prakrit.³ In the same manner *cindhiya* has developed from *cihnita* so also *cindhāla* from **cihnāla* (*cihnavat*). The process of development, exhibited in the above-mentioned cases, clearly shows that the forms which manifest mere metathesis, are earlier than those that show the transformation of *h* to sonant aspirate *bh* or *dh*. In other words, *bamhaṇa*, *bamhacera*, *kamhāra*, *semha* are earlier than *bambhaṇa*, *bambhacera*, *kambhāra*, *sembha* respectively. In the same manner *cihna* (or later *cinha*) is earlier than *cindha* or *cendha*.

Let us take the case of *haṅgho*. The original word is *haṁho*, which is noted in the lexicon. The letter *anusvāra* occurring before *h* has the timbre of the guttural. So it is identified with the guttural nasal i.e. *ṅ*. The sound *h* coming after this *anusvāra*, that is identified with the guttural nasal, becomes transformed into the sonant aspirate *gh* in Prakrit. This is in fact the reason, which causes the change of *haṁho* into *haṅgho*, *saṁhati* into *saṅghadi*, *saṁhāra* into *saṅghāra*, *siṁha* into *siṅgha*, *siṁhalti* into *siṅghalti*, etc. This shows unequivocally that the forms, which retain the sound *h* after the *anusvāra*, tinged by the colour of the guttural, are undoubtedly earlier than those, which possess the sonant aspirate *gh*.

1 Pischel, *op. cit.*, Sections 120, 267 ; Hemacandra, *op. cit.*, II. 60.

2 Loc. cit.

3 Hemacandra, *op. cit.*, II. 50 ; Pischel, *op. cit.*, Section 267.

Incidentally it may be mentioned that the sound *h* coming after *n*, *m* and also the *anusvāra*, imbued with the colour of the guttural, becomes transformed into sonant aspirate of the respective class. We have not noted such a change of the sound *h* after the palatal and cerebral nasals. So it is very difficult to say whether the sound *h* coming after the palatal or cerebral nasals would have been transformed into voiced palatal and cerebral aspirates respectively.

It may be a fact that those forms, which showed sonant aspirates, were originally dialectal variations. But in the absence of any definite knowledge it cannot be asserted with any degree of certainty. Be that as it may, on the basis of the evidences cited above, it is possible for us to state that forms with sonant aspirates are not certainly earlier than those that possess the pure aspirate *h*. This in fact contradicts the view of Lüders, Keith and Pischel.

A UNIQUE POTIN COIN OF RUDRASIMHA I

SM. SHOBHANA GOKHALE

THE PRESENT COIN IS in the possession of Sri P. R. Vaishampayan, a well-known jeweller of Nasik, and with the kind permission of Sri Vaishampayan the coin is being published here. The coin may be described as follows :

Metal—Potin ; Size—Round, diameter 3.8 mm. ;

Weight—1.50 gms. ; Thickness—4 cms.

Obverse : A standing bull facing right ; traces of legend in Greek characters ; above the back of the bull, date 116.

Reverse : *Caitya* with two crescents above a wavy line (river) ; circular legend in Brāhmī *Raño Mahakṣatra... Rudrasahasa*.*

Rudrasimha I, son of Rudradāman I, issued this potin coin. E. J. Rapson has recorded only two coins of this ruler.¹ Of the two coins, one is illustrated and from the photograph it appears to be in a bad condition. The provenance of the first coin is 'Pushkar, near Ajmer' and the second, Ujjain. So far as the date on these two coins is concerned, symbols of the third digit 100 and the second digit 10 are clear, but the symbol of the first digit is not clear. According to Rapson, it 'must be between 4 and 9'. Interestingly enough, the present coin clearly records the date 116 which is to be referred to the Śaka era. D. C. Sircar has pointed out² that 'the first Brāhmī date may be attributed to the coins of Rudrasimha I' and not to Jivadāman as stated by Rapson.³

It may, however, be pointed out that the present coin of Rudrasimha I does not follow the usual Kṣatrapa fashion of mentioning

* [It means.—'of king Rudrasimha, the Great Satrap'.—Ed.]

1 *A Catalogue of the Indian Coins in the British Museum*, 1908, p. 93.

2 *Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilisation*, 2nd Ed., 1965, p. 184, [note 3.—Ed.]

3 *Op. cit.*, p. cxxiv.

the name and title of the issuer's father. * His nephew Jīvadāman, who issued potin coins in Śaka 119, followed the footsteps of his uncle Rudrasimha I.

The coin under consideration is thus unique for it shows that Rudrasimha I was the first Kṣatrapa king to issue potin coins with clear date, the Sātavāhana bull on the obverse and the Brāhmī legend in the thick Sātavāhana pen-style. As is well known, the portrait coins of the Sātavāhana rulers ¹ are the outcome of the diffusion of the Kṣatrapa culture whereas the present coin, it should be noted, provides the unique example of the Sātavāhana numismatic features borrowed by the Kṣatrapa ruler Rudrasimha I. The provenance, the coin-material, the obverse and the pen-style of it show that Rudrasimha I certainly continued his political activities in the Sātavāhana territory, possibly the Nasik region, as the coin was found there, ** in the same spirit as that of his father, and issued the potin coins for the people of the Sātavāhana territory who were accustomed to the potin material and the bull on the obverse.

* [Silver coins only have the name and the title of the issuer's father. Two other potin coins of Rudrasimha I also omit the name and title of his father.—Ed.]

1 The Śaka-Sātavāhana tussle nurtured the cultural atmosphere.

** [One can hardly be sure about the place of minting of this coin as it is not reported to be a find from an excavation or from a hoard.—Ed.]

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A Unique Potin Coin of Rudrasimha



Obverse



Reverse

ON THE ORIGIN OF THE INDIAN ALPHABET

LALLANJI GOPAL

THE VERSATILE SCHOLAR D. R. Bhandarkar has enriched all the important aspects and branches of ancient Indian history and culture by his learned contributions. It was in 1920 that he prepared his research paper on the origin of the Indian alphabet* which was read at the First Oriental Conference¹ and was subsequently published in the *Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes*² as well.

Bhandarkar made a review of the existing theories of the origin of the Brāhmī. At that time among the palaeographers the theory of Semitic Origin was most popular. Bhandarkar effectively met the arguments advanced by the protagonists of the foreign origin theory. He himself subscribed to the view that the Brāhmī script had an indigenous origin. Bhandarkar's contribution lay in arguing for the

* [One of the papers selected for presentation in the First Oriental Conference held at Poona on the 5th, 6th and 7th November, 1919, it first appeared in *The Calcutta Review* (No. 299), January, 1920, pp. 21-39, under the title 'The Indian Alphabet'. With the omission of a few pages (beginning after 'alone is understood' of p. 21 and ending before 'Numerous and diverse are the views....' of p. 28) from this paper, it was published in the *Proceedings and Transactions of the First Oriental Conference*, Vol. II, 1922, pp. 305-18) under the title 'Origin of Indian Alphabet'. The paper also appeared in the *Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes*, Vol. III, *Orientalia*—Part I, 1922, pp. 493-514, under the title 'Origin of the Indian Alphabet' with the addition of about two pages between 'interpolation' and 'If we want to find out whether' of p. 23 and about twelve lines after '700 B. C.' of p. 39 to the article in *The Calcutta Review*. See above, p. 100, note, for the difference between the papers published in the *Proceedings and Transactions of the First Oriental Conference* and the *Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes*.—Ed.]

1 *Proceedings and Transactions of the First All India Oriental Conference*, Vol. II, pp. 305 ff.

2 *Op. cit.*, Vol. III, *Orientalia*, Part I, pp. 493 ff. [Quotations of the author are from this article. Exact page references are ours.—Ed.] See also *Indian Antiquary* (henceforth *Ind. Ant.*), 1919, pp. 57 ff. ; *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1921, pp. 209 ff. ; *The Calcutta Review*, 1923, July-September, pp. 358 ff. ; *Asoka*, pp. 196 ff.

antiquity of writing in India and then suggesting a possible origin for it within India.

He analysed the Vedic literature to demonstrate (p. 502) that 'the art of writing was known to India not merely in the sixth century B. C., as is at present asserted on the strength of the Pali Canon, but long long before this period, at least as early as 1200 B. C., the latest date assigned to the *R̥gveda*'. With the help of archaeological data he went on (p. 502) to show that 'even in India alphabetic writing is not of historic or proto-historic but of pre-historic origin'. He pushed back the antiquity to 3000 B. C. or even earlier to 6000 B. C. But he refrained from discussing the question 'whether the progenitor of the *Brāhmī lipi* was actually indigenous to India or not' (p. 514), as he realised that pre-historic archaeology in India was not properly developed in his times.

G. H. Ojha¹ was the first to use literary evidence to trace the use of writing in India back to the Vedic times. After Bhandarkar some other scholars, such as I. J. S. Taraporewala,² D. B. Diskalkar³ and R. B. Pandey⁴ have added to the study of this aspect of the problem.

Max Müller had made an emphatic assertion that 'there is not a single word in Pāṇini's terminology which presupposes the existence of writing'.⁵ Bhandarkar rightly exposed the weakness of this 'bold and sweeping assertion' and pointed out (p. 494) that a *sūtra* of Pāṇini⁶ contains the words *lipikāra* or *libikāra** in the sense of 'a scribe', that Pāṇini mentions *Yavanāni*,⁷ which, according to Kātyāyana and Patañjali, means 'the writing of the Yavanas', and that (p. 496) 'in his *sūtras* Pāṇini refers to the Northern and the Eastern Schools of Grammarians and also to at least ten individual authors such as Gārgya,

1 *Prācīna Lipimālā*, 1894. Reprinted (3rd. Ed., 1959) *Bhāratīya Prācīna Lipimālā*, Chapter I.

2 'The Origin of the Brāhmī Alphabet', *Proceedings and Transactions of the Fourth Oriental Conference*, pp. 625 ff.

3 'Origin of Indian Epigraphy', *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XXXII, 1954, pp. 291 ff.

4 *Indian Palaeography*, Chapter I.

5 *A History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 262.

6 XIII. 2. 21 (*Lipilībālī*).

* [Read.—'lipikara' and 'libikara'.—Ed.]

7 IV. 1. 49. Pāṇini also uses the words *grantha*, 'a book' (I. 3. 75 ; IV. 3.87 ; IV. 3. 116) and *svārīta*, 'a mark in writing' (I. 3. 11).

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Gālava, Śākaṭāyana, Śākalya and so forth. ¹ These four grammarians again have been mentioned by Yāska, Pāṇini's predecessor'.²

Bhandarkar had a clear idea of the problem and believed in adducing relevant and cogent evidence and not in inflating the length of the article by multiplying references. That is why he merely alludes to the evidence of the Pāli Canon, principally the *Jātakas*, ³ but does not pause to discuss it in detail. The Pāli Canon 'points to the common use of writing in India during the fifth or perhaps the sixth century B. C.' (p. 495), hence on its testimony the introduction of writing can be pushed back only to the seventh century B. C. Likewise, he does not take his stand on the post-vedic literature, 'because there is hardly any work of this literature which has not been suspected to contain interpolations' (p. 495). According to him, the references to philological and grammatical discussions in the Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads are not indubitable proof for the existence of schools of philology and grammar, but, in case it is admitted, for the sake of argument, this evidence also cannot take us 'necessarily to any date earlier than the seventh century B. C.'

In discussing the evidence of the Vedic literature Bhandarkar concentrates on two of the principal features of writing : numerical notation and alphabet. He takes (p. 498) the word *aṣṭa-karṇa* occurring in the *Rgveda*⁴ to mean 'with marked ears' and hence does not take it as evidence in support of the symbols for numerals being used by the Aryans. But, he argues (p. 500) that the fact that very early in the Vedic period the Aryans 'could deal with such high numbers as billions or tens of billions' and 'penetrate into the intricacies of fractions' presupposes that they had developed a system of numerical notation. He points out that the names *ayuta* (10,000) and *śata-sahasra* (100,000)⁵

1 Other writers on Sanskrit Grammar mentioned by Pāṇini are Apīṣāli, Kāśyapa, Cākṛavarmaṇa, Bhāradvāja, Yāska and Senaka.

2 Some other predecessors mentioned by Yāska are Audumbarāyaṇa, Āgrāyaṇa, Aurnavābha, Aupamanyava, Kāṭṭhākya, Kautsa, Carmaśiras, Taiṭṭiki, Vārṣāyaṇi, Śatabalākṣa, Śākapūṇi and Sthaulāṣṭivī.

3 Bühler, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIII, Appendix, p. 5 ; Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 109.

4 X. 62. 7 (*Sahasraṁ me dadato aṣṭa-karṇyaḥ*).

5 IV. 32. 18 ; VIII. 32. 18.

occur in the *R̥gveda*. In the *Yajurveda* the list of names for very high numerals is a long one going up to *parārdha*.¹ In the *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa* a calculation of increasing geometrical progression commencing with 12 reaches up to 393,216.² The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*³ contains 'an instance of progression of the opposite kind, where each successive figure is $\frac{1}{15}$ th of the preceding one' thus dividing one day into 759,375 parts. The *R̥gveda* also shows the knowledge of the fractions, *ardha* ($\frac{1}{2}$), *pāda* ($\frac{1}{4}$), *tripāda* ($\frac{3}{4}$), *śapha* ($\frac{1}{8}$) and *kalā* ($\frac{1}{16}$). In another passage⁴ we have a reference to 1,000 being divided into three parts, which even for modern mathematics will be considered to be a great feat'. Bhandarkar quotes with approval Buhler's view that 'the word for "letter" or "syllable" is *akṣara*, because, being scratched or engraved it becomes indelible'. He adds that *akṣara* in this sense is to be found not only in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* or the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*⁵ but also in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*,⁶ *Atharvaveda* and *R̥gveda*.⁷

Bhandarkar was in a very reasonable position in pushing the antiquity of Indian alphabets to 1200 B. C., but, in taking it further back, on the basis of archaeological data, he treaded treacherous grounds. He saw 'in the symbols on the pre-historic pottery of India the forerunners of the characters constituting the *Brāhmī lipi*'. G. Yazdani had⁸ noticed the similarity of these marks with a few characters of the *Brāhmī* script and had prepared a list of 131 marks appearing on the pre-historic

1 According to the list in the *Vājasaneyi Samhitā* (XVII. 2) and *Taittirīya Samhitā* (IV. 40. 11. 4; VII. 2. 21. 1), the value of *Parārdha* will be one billion (1,000, 000, 000, 000) whereas the *Kāthaka Samhitā* (XXXIX. 6) will make it equal to ten billions (10, 000, 000, 000, 000).

2 XVIII. 3.

3 XII. 3. 2. 1. If a day and a night together are calculated then we will have 30 *muhūrtas* which make 1,518,750 parts or *prṇas*, other divisions between *muhūrta* and *prṇa* being *kṣīpra*, *etarhi* and *idānīm*.

4 VI. 69 (*tredhā sahasraṃ vi tad-aiṛayatham*).

5 II. 10 (*Himkāra iti try=akṣaram; prastāva iti try=akṣaram tatsamam*).

6 *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, III. 1. 5.

7 I. 164. 24.

8 'Megalithic Remains of the Deccan—A New Feature of Them', *Journal of the Hyderabad Archaeological Society*, 1917, pp. 56-79.

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pottery. Bhandarkar points out that 'a fairly large number of these signs look like letters of an alphabet', with 'signs even for expressing medial vowels'. Moreover there are instances of reversed letters. Bhandarkar takes single symbols scratched on the pre-historic pottery as alphabetic letters, because some of these, found on proto-historic and pre-historic antiquities in Egypt and Europe, have been proved to be alphabetic signs, and because 'the custom of engraving a single letter which was also the initial letter of a name was by no means unknown to India'. The pre-historic pottery on which these symbols appear are associated with Megalithic structures and in some cases belong to the Neolithic age. Bhandarkar was of the view (p. 514) that these ancient remains 'cannot be later than 3000 B. C. and may be as early as 6000 B. C.'

Bhandarkar was very much conscious of the weakness of his thesis and added that 'the study of the pre-historic archaeology of India is yet in its infant stage and no systematic treatment of this question is possible' now. Since 1920, when Bhandarkar wrote his essay, the study of Indian pre-history has advanced tremendously and much headway has been made in solving many problems. The date for the Megaliths and Neoliths, with which the pottery in question is associated, had now been fixed with tolerable certainty. The Megaliths have been studied by many scholars. ¹ The term has been widely used to cover a large variety of burial customs with the result that it represents a burial complex which extended from the extreme south and coastal Ceylon to Khandesh and Nagpur in the north. In spite of the diversity the Megaliths possess some common and uniform features, including the use of iron. These 'South Indian graves appear as a developing complex with several streams of influences combining in them'. ² But in any case they cannot be taken to a date before 600 B. C. It is to be noted that at Brahmagiri the Megalithic phase is immediately followed by the phase represented by the Russet coated or Andhra ware.

The graffiti on the Megalithic pottery has been subjected to a careful

- 1 K. S. Ramachandran, 'A Bibliography on Indian Megaliths', *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society of Bangalore*, Vols. LII (1961) and LIII (1962-63), lists more than 250 books and articles. See V. D. Krishnaswami, 'Megalithic Types of South India', *Ancient India*, No. 5, 1949.
- 2 Bridget and Raymond Allchin, *The Birth of Indian Civilization*, p. 229.

and detailed analysis by B.B.Lal.¹ Lal shows that these marks are to be found on the Harappan and post-Harappan pottery as well.² This no doubt pushes back the antiquity of these symbols. But it is difficult to accept Bhandarkar's thesis that the signs are letters of an alphabet. Lal points out that 'some of the symbols occur on the Harappan seals on the one hand and on the early Brāhmī alphabet on the other'. The Harappa seals have a script of their own and the marks on the pottery cannot be confused with that or another script. It is only a few of the marks of the Harappa script that appear on the pottery. This may be accidental; only the marks or shapes were adopted on the pottery without any reference to their phonetic value. The similarity in the forms of some of the marks on the pottery with a few on the seals cannot be interpreted to suggest that all the marks on the pottery also belong to a script. Lal rightly remarks that 'to stress the point that the symbols do have a phonetic, syllabic or alphabet value would indeed be presumptuous in the present state of our knowledge'. Apparently an alphabet cannot have 131 letters,³ hence Bhandarkar himself admits that some of the marks 'look like pictographs or ideograms'. Thus he takes the compromising position of admitting the co-existence of pictographs and letters, but historically such a situation cannot be maintained.

To prove that a single letter signified the initial letter of a name Bhandarkar cites the case of the two relic caskets found in Stūpa No. 3

- 1 'From the Megalithic to the Harappa : Tracing back the Graffiti on the Pottery', *Ancient India*, No. 16, 1960, pp. 4-24. For earlier studies of the problem, see the list on page 4, note 1.
- 2 B. B. Lal (*op. cit.*, p. 21) shows that 'out of the total of sixtyone symbols noted so far as many as fortyseven are common to the Megalithic pottery on the one hand and the Harappan and post-Harappan Chalcolithic on the other. Of the remaining, six are exclusive to the Megalithic pottery, and eight to the Harappan, and post-Harappan Chalcolithic.' But he admits that the question 'as to how these Chalcolithic cultures are to be related to the Megalithic ones' cannot be answered 'fully and finally in the present state of our knowledge'.
- 3 Bhandarkar remarks : 'But this number he (Yazdani) rightly regards as by no means final as pottery from every fresh site may add to it, and, as a matter of fact, has since then added to it'. But B. B. Lal (*op. cit.*, pp. 5-6) points out that in Yazdani's list 'the same symbol, with hardly any variation occurs under different numbers' and reduces the number of symbols to 50.

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at Sanchi. Whereas the two boxes containing the relic caskets have the full names *Sariputasa* and *Maha Mogalanasa*, the lids of the two caskets have the initial letters *Sa* and *Ma*.¹ It will, however, not be safe to infer any thing about the signs belonging to the period of the Megalithic and Neolithic pottery on the basis of the practice among the Buddhists in the Śunga period. The signs are just identification marks,² there is no reason why they should be interpreted as denoting letters. In his keenness to establish his point Bhandarkar points out that identical signs are alphabetic signs in Egypt and Europe, without realising that the similarity in the forms of two widely separated geographical areas does not necessarily mean that they are identical in value. If it is conceded that contacts between the two areas in those remote times existed, why should we stop with Bhandarkar in admitting that in the two areas alike the signs signified a letter and not go to the logical end and ascribe the same phonetic value to the symbols in the two areas. Bhandarkar, to be honest to his argument, should have applied to the Indian signs the phonetic value of the alphabets in Egypt and Europe to find out if the inscriptions made any sense, or else should have dropped the suggestion to treat them as alphabets. That the thesis of Bhandarkar is not very regular is clear from the way he chooses to treat the signs on two Neoliths in the collection of the Indian Museum.³ Whereas, in the case of one Neolith, he describes the signs as 'almost exactly similar to those of the pre-historic characters of Egypt', in the case of the second,

1 Cunningham, *Bhilsa Topes*, pp. 297, 299.

2 According to B. B. Lal (*op. cit.*, p. 23), 'as in most cases the symbols are post-firing, it cannot be said that they represent merely the potters' marks. Likewise, the possibility that they represent exclusively the owners' marks is also rendered futile because some of the symbols were incised even before the firing of the pot, unless, citing modern parallels, it is argued that the owner had placed a prior order with the potter. The responsibility, therefore, may be divided between the potter (for the pre-firing marks) and the owner (for the post-firing marks).' He adds that for determining, 'the interrelationship of the symbol with the person', 'a very careful and detailed recording, in future, of graffiti-bearing pots in burials' is necessary.

3 J. Coggin Brown, *Catalogue Raisonné of the Pre-historic Antiquities in the Indian Museum at Calcutta*, p. 131 (no. 998—a celt of greenish stone from Assam), p. 124 (no. 3177—a tiny piece of haematite stone shaped like the right palm from a place near Ranchi).

he reads *ma-a-ta* ¹ in Brāhmī characters of the Aśokan period. In the case of the second he takes the letters to be reversed and reads them as reflected in a mirror. All this is highly subjective and cannot lead to any scientific inference.

It must be said, to be fair to Bhandarkar, that he was alive to the need for tapping new sources and trying new avenues for determining the possible origin of the Indian alphabet. The early date which he inferred was solely due to the fact that the study of pre-historic archaeology, particularly of Megaliths, was in a nascent state, and while making such an inference how very careful Bhandarkar was is amply borne out by his observation that 'no systematic treatment of this question is possible until this pre-historic archaeology becomes a subject of serious scientific investigation in India'. The question of graffiti has not been finally solved and may contain significant possibilities for future.

The lead given by Bhandarkar was followed by some other scholars who introduced certain changes and improvements in the light of new evidence that came to light subsequently. The most revolutionary addition to historical knowledge was the discovery of the Indus Valley culture which had its own distinct script. Scholars who believed that the Brāhmī script had an indigenous origin had the task of explaining the very wide gap separating the Indus Valley script and the Brāhmī script. K. P. Jayaswal,² Piccoli³ and D. B. Diskalkar⁴ postulated an intervening script through which the Indus Valley script was taken to have evolved into the Brāhmī script.*

1 Following P. Mitra (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLVIII, pp. 63-64), Bhandarkar regards *ma-a-ta* of the Neolith as equivalent to *mahato* or *mahtou* in non-Aryan parlance. But the supposed non-Aryan term is actually to be connected with Sanskrit *mahattama*. It will involve many intricate problems if *ma-a-ta* is interpreted to mean 'a chief or headman'.

2 *Ind. Ant.*, 1933, p. 60; *Presidential Address, Seventh Oriental Conference*, p. 4.

3 *Ind. Ant.*, 1933, p. 214.

4 *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 302-03.

* [According to D. C. Sircar (*Journ. Anc. Ind. Hist.*, Vol. IV, pp. 107-08), 'it is possible that, just as the Japanese alphabet was created by selecting about fifty out of the hundreds of symbols used in the Chinese writing, the Brāhmī alphabet was created,

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D. B. Diskalkar regards the marks on the Megalithic cairn pottery as providing the intervening script, but he lowers down the date of the pottery pieces to 1500 B. C. Even this date is on the upper side and, as discussed earlier, the marks on the Megalithic pottery cannot be interpreted as referring to a script. Another difficulty that persists is that whereas the Megalithic pottery, with which the marks are associated, are found in South India, the Brāhmī script appears to have had its birth in the north. Diskalkar meets the objection by observing that it is not impossible that similar finds may some day be discovered in north India in future excavations. But historical research cannot proceed on such wishful assumptions.

K. P. Jayaswal and Piccoli take the letters in the Vikramkhol (Rewa) inscription to provide a link in the history of the evolution of the Indus valley script into Brāhmī. But the date 1500 B. C., assigned to this inscription, is totally arbitrary. The inscription is of a later date ; in any case it cannot be dated in the period of the gap between the Indus Valley and Brāhmī scripts.

D. B. Diskalkar regards the rock carvings at Mansar near Ramtek and on the Gombiguddai hill near Jamakhindi to provide the missing link, the writing before the Brāhmī. It has to be emphasised that the rock carvings and paintings have not been placed in their proper historical sequence. In India the pre-historic nature of all these paintings and carvings is not established beyond dispute. ¹ There are two clear concentrations of rock art in India. That of central and Peninsular India goes back to the Late Stone Age ; it 'flourished alongside the Neolithic or Chalcolithic and possibly even later cultures of surrounding regions'. ² The second group found in North Karnataka and Andhra had Neolithic people as authors though 'it is quite possible

in order to write the Aryan language, out of the pre-historic Indian writing a few centuries before the rise of the Mauryas in the latter half of the fourth century B. C.'—Ed.]

1 M. Ghosh, 'Rock Paintings and other Antiquities of Pre-historic and Later Times', *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 24, 1932 ; D. H. Gordon, *The Pre-Historic Background of Indian Culture*, Bombay, 1958, Chapter 6 ; V. S. Wankar, 'Painted Rock Shelters of India', *Rivista di scienze preistoriche*, Florence, 1962.

2 Bridget and Raymond Allchin, *op. cit.*, pp. 87 f.

that a few can be attributed to the hunting people who preceded them' (*sic. them*).¹ Associated with the second group are rock bruising. It is to be noted that the rock paintings differ from their counter-parts in Western Asia and Europe. They cannot be described as belonging to the category of ideographic script preceding the appearance of true script. They are merely casual handiwork of their authors. Thus they do not have any relevance for the question of the origin of writing in India.

1 *Ibid.*, p. 298.

THE STŪPA AND THE COSMIC AXIS (YŪPA-YAṢṬI)

JOHN IRWIN

THERE IS MUCH that is still obscure about the origin and early history of the *stūpa*, yet there is no subject more fraught with significance for the understanding of early Indian art and religion. The choice of one aspect of this subject may therefore be appropriate as an offering to the Birth Centenary Volume of a scholar as alert to key historical problems of his own day as the late D. R. Bhandarkar.

The symbolism of the *stūpa* has received very little attention from scholars working within the field of India proper. The little research already published on the subject has been by specialists in Far Eastern and South Asian cultures interested in the history of the Indian *stūpa* for the light it could be expected to throw on the varied forms it took in their own areas. It is therefore no surprise that the most important single work on the symbolism of the Indian *stūpa* should have been written by Paul Mus (1902-69),¹ a Frenchman domiciled in Vietnam and ostensibly concerned with the interpretation of a Javanese monument. The misleading nature of the title of the work of Mus and the fact that it is written in French (not easy French at that) may explain why this important work has had no recognizable influence on thinking within India.

In much current literature, the *stūpa* is discussed as if it were not only a specifically Buddhist monument but the *principal* monument of the early Buddhist cult. Neither of these assumptions has ever been substantiated. For instance, archaeology has not yet proved that any Buddhist *stūpas* existed before the fourth or third century B. C., nor have we any reason to suppose that Buddhists adopted the *stūpa* before the Jains.² Moreover, nobody has yet explained how or why the Jains

1 *Bārābudur, Esquisse d'une histoire du Bouddhisme fondée sur la critique archéologique des textes* which first appeared as a series of articles in *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient*, Vols. 32 to 34, 1932-34, and then in book form from Hanoi in 1935.

2 The Jain *stūpa* was first discussed by G. Bühler ('Further Proofs of the Authenticity of

and Buddhists came to adopt the *stūpa* and precisely what form and function this type of monument had in earlier tradition.

In universities, the most influential thinker on the history of the *stūpa* over the last hundred years has been Alfred Foucher (1865-1952). His most important work, *L'Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra*, appeared in 1905.¹ Again, the title is misleading, although its true scope is revealed in the sub-title : *Études sur les origines de l'influence classique dans l'art bouddhique de l'Inde et de l'Extrême-Orient*. In other words, Foucher's main concern was to assess the contribution of the West and in particular the Greeks to the history of Buddhist art and architecture. The religious meaning of the *stūpa* was hardly discussed because he took it for granted that it was simply a kind of tomb or mausoleum derived from the 'primitive tumulus'.²

Already in the 1920s, A. M. Hocart had initiated a new era of thinking with his claim that the *stūpa* was first and foremost a 'micro-cosm', and that in so far as its function was funerary, its funerary symbolism was cosmological.³ These ideas seem to have passed unnoticed in academic circles where at that time there was no interest in cosmological theories, and where metaphysics was regarded as a subject which could be left to cranks. Instead, Foucher's work continued to head the lists of recommended reading and to be the sole guide of those engaged in Buddhist archaeology. Sir John Marshall, Director General

the Jaina Tradition', *Vienna Oriental Journal*, Vol. 4, Vienna, 1890, pp. 328 ff.). For more recent discussion of the Jain *Stūpa*, see U. P. Shah, *Studies in Jaina Art*, Banaras, 1955, Chapter 2.

1 Published in three volumes from Paris.

2 Foucher, however, did not stop to ask the precise religious nature and function of the 'primitive tumulus'. It is strange to think that several generations of scholars have allowed themselves to be influenced by Foucher's oversimplified line of thought. Even to-day there are some who look for the origin of the *stūpa* in the Brāhmanical cemetery (*śmaśāna*), neglecting fundamental differences between them. These differences have been well discussed in a recent paper by André Bareau, 'Les récits canoniques des funérailles du Buddha et leurs anomalies : nouvel essai d'interprétation' (*Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient*, Vol. 62, 1975, pp. 151-89).

3 A. M. Hocart, 'The Origin of the *Stūpa*', *Ceylon Journal of Science*, Vol. I, Part I, 1924, p. 20. Hocart (*ibid.*, p. 102) was also the first to point out parallels between the cosmological symbolism of the *stūpa* and the Vedic altar.

of the Archaeological Survey of India, accordingly chose Foucher as his co-author for the monumental three volumes, *The Monuments of Sāñchi*, published in 1939.

However, it was under the influence of the outsider, Hocart, that Paul Mus embarked on his brilliant though erratic and sometimes rashly speculative thesis on Bārābudur, mentioned above. When the direction of this work was communicated to Foucher, the latter is said to have tartly commented : '*On a commencé par enterrer les morts avant de faire de la métaphysique sur l'aspect du tombeau !*'¹ However, before he died, Foucher, with humility characteristic of the true scholar aware that after all he might be wrong, publicly acknowledged that the point of view of Paul Mus. '...goes further than my own... As we are all anxious that knowledge should be extended, we not only resign ourselves to, but even welcome, the fact that new generations will climb on our shoulders to see further and more clearly than ourselves.'²

In this paper we shall take as our own point of departure one of the principal conclusions reached by Mus, which is as follows³ :

'Henceforth, the central part played by the axial pillar in the structure of the *stūpa* is confirmed. It is not just that it marks the centre and that it rises up and dominates the *stūpa* in the form of a staff bearing parasols : the entire masonry surrounds and encloses it, is explained by it, and constitutes no more than—in a single word—its

- 1 As recorded by Paul Mus in the book edition of his thesis, cited above, see p. 249, note 1. It means—'They began burying the dead before anyone thought of making a metaphysical object of the appearance of the tomb'.
- 2 '*...va plus loin que le mein...Comme nous sommes tous désireux du développement de la science, non seulement nous nous resignons, mais nous applaudissons d'avance au fait qu'il faut bien que les générations nouvelles nous grimpent sur les épaules pour voir plus loin et mieux que nous*' (report of a public discussion published in the *Bulletin de la Société française de Philosophie*, 1937, p. 101).
- 3 '*Dès à présent, se confirme le rôle de premier plan que joue le pilier axial dans la contexture du stāpa. Ce n'est pas seulement qu'il en marque le milieu, qu'il en jaillisse et le domine sous la forme d'une hampe chargée d'ombrelles : la bâtisse entière tourne et se referme autour de lui, s'explique par lui et n'en est, en un mot, que l'enveloppe... [Le stūpa] se comprend dès lors surtout par son axe*' (*Op. cit.*, Part III, Chapter 4, p. 121, of the book edition).

envelope....From the above, it is clear that the *stūpa* is to be understood above all in terms of its axis.'

Mus reached this conclusion by archaeological interpretation of texts, rather than from archaeological facts themselves. However, if he had examined the published reports of *stūpa* excavations made over the last 150 years, he would have found abundant evidence to reinforce his argument. Surprisingly, until recently this evidence has remained uncollated and therefore unnoticed or misunderstood by writers on the *stūpa*, and in a separate paper¹ we have attempted to deal with this task of collation and detailed assessment of the archaeological evidence. Here, space will allow only brief mention of one example taken from Bloch's report on the excavation of two ancient *stūpa*-mounds at Lauriya-Nandangarh in 1905.²

The report shows that in each of these mounds there was incontrovertible evidence of a monumental axial pillar of wood having originally penetrated the entire edifice, with its foundations more than two metres below natural ground-level. In one case (see Plate I), a substantial portion of the lower end of the shaft (1.32 metres in circumference) had survived because of the heavily waterlogged nature of the subsoil. The depth of its foundation left no doubt that it had been erected as a free-standing pillar before the building of the earthen mound was started. Above waterlevel, the shaft had entirely rotted away or been eaten by termites, leaving only what the report describes as a 'circular hole or hollow'.

One of the principal questions preoccupying Bloch was whether the mounds were Buddhist or pre-Buddhist *in origin*. No definitive answer was possible; but the balance of evidence (which included the finding of animal bones in one of the mounds) persuaded him that they

- 1 'The *Stupa* and the Cosmic Axis: The Archaeological Evidence', *South Asian Archaeology 1977* (Papers from the Fourth International Conference of South Asian Archaeologists in Western Europe, held at Naples, 4th-8th July, 1977, under the auspices of the Instituto Universitario Orientale, Piazza S. Giovanni Maggiore, Naples), Naples, 1979, pp. 799-845.
- 2 Publication of the official report was delayed by illness and did not appear until later (T. Bloch, 'Excavations at Lauriya', *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1906-07*, issued in 1909, pp. 118-26). To obtain full details of this important excavation, the official report should be read in conjunction with Bloch's earlier article, also entitled 'Excavations at Lauriya', published in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Leipzig, 1906, pp. 227-32.

were certainly pre-Mauryan, possibly pre-Buddhist, and that Cunningham may have been correct in his earlier speculation that they had originated as 'king-burials'.¹ Bloch further suggested that the pillars were *sthūpas* of the kind mentioned in the well-known burial-hymn of the *Rgveda*, X. 18. Strangely enough, he paid no attention to descriptions of *stūpas* appearing in early Buddhist texts. If he had done so, he could hardly have failed to recognize the possible relevance of a passage in the *Divyāvadāna*² (244.11) which describes a *stūpa* as having in its centre a component called *yūpa-yaṣṭi*.

Yaṣṭi is well known as the name of the parasol-staff seen on the summit of many early *stūpas*. But what of *yūpa*? The latter term is best known in association with Vedic sacrifice as the name of the post to which the victim is tied before ritual slaughter. It is explicitly identified in many Vedic and Brāhmaṇical texts as synonymous with the world axis or axis mundi, but translators have always rendered it simply as 'sacrificial post'. Yet, in this case, how can a sacrificial post have anything to do with a sacred monument of the Buddhists, to whom blood sacrifice is repulsive and forbidden? The appearance of *yūpa* in this context seemed so unexpected and unaccountable that almost all scholars debating the issue have assumed a scribe's error—notwithstanding repetition of the same 'error' in all surviving manuscript copies of the text, referred to above. Are they justified in making this assumption? Obviously, a correct answer is crucial to an understanding of the origin and meaning of the *stūpa*.

On first impression, it may seem presumptuous for an art-historian without philological qualifications to discuss a textual problem that has engaged the attention of some of the most eminent and experienced textual scholars. However, one can plead that since these scholars have failed to reach agreement among themselves (beyond assuming that

1 Alexander Cunningham, 'Lauriya Navandgarh', *Archaeological Survey Reports*, Vol. I, issued from Simla, 1871, pp. 69-70.

2 Ed. E. B. Cowell and R. A. Neil, Cambridge, 1886, pp. 243-44. This text is a compilation from earlier sources and is attributed to the early centuries of our present era. The editors consulted five surviving mss., the earliest being Nepalese which they attributed to the seventeenth century A. D., describing it as 'corrupt in many places', yet 'unusually correct for a Nepalese ms.'.

yūpa is a corruption), this might be the moment to review the issues from an archaeological standpoint, seeing that we are here ultimately concerned with a problem, not of words, but of material culture.

So far the dispute has centred exclusively upon the appearance of *yūpa-yaṣṭi* in one text, the *Divyāvadāna*, as already mentioned. The passage occurs in the well-known story of a shrine built in honour of the former Buddha, Kṣemaṃkara. Among natives of the village where the *nirvāṇa* occurred was a certain rich merchant who happened to be away on business at the time. Returning and hearing of the holy event, he asked if a *stūpa* had been raised to mark the spot where the *nirvāṇa* had taken place. In reply he was told that king Kṣema had raised a *caitya*,¹ described as one of 'little importance (*alpeśākhyā*)'. Where upon the merchant then asked the king's permission to make this *caitya* more important (*maheśākhyatara*) at his own expense, with the idea of offering a *pañcavārṣika* to the community. The king agreed ; but the local brāhmaṇas, jealous of money being spent for this purpose, threatened to obstruct the operation. To counter threats, the king then ordered military protection so that building could proceed.

The text makes it clear that this was not a matter of building a new shrine but of enlarging an existing one. After encompassing the dome (*aṇḍa*) of the original *caitya* within a larger one and providing staircases and an ambulatory, the description continues with the following words, the interpretation of which has caused so much controversy :

tathāvidham = ca bhūpasy = āṇḍam kṛtaṃ yatra sā yūpa-yaṣṭir
abhyantare pratipāditā|paścāt = tasy = ātinavāṇḍasy = opari harmikā
kṛt = ānupūrveṇa yaṣṭy = āropaṇam kṛtaṃ varṣasthāle mahā-maṇiratnāni
tāny = āropitāṇi||

The first to recognize the interest and importance of this passage from the point of view of the history of the Buddhist *stūpa* was Foucher, who translated it to mean : 'and the dome of the *stūpa* was

1 Mlle Mireille Bénisti, who gives a careful French translation of the story in her important paper, 'Étude sur le *stūpa*' in *Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient*, Vol. 50, 1960, pp. 37-115, draws attention to the merchant's use of the word *stūpa* after he had been told that the king had raised a *caitya*. She thinks that a distinction of meaning was intended, but she does not comment on the significance of the distinction.

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made in such a way that the mast (you know, the mast which serves as a pole) was implanted in the interior, after which, on top of this freshly built dome, was placed the pavilion and, next in order, the erection of the staff was proceeded with; the rain-pot they inlaid with large precious stones, as you know...'¹

By this rendering, Foucher entirely evaded the question of why the word *yūpa* should have been used in this context.

The next to comment was the Javanese scholar M. R. Ng. Poerbatjaraka who disagreed with Foucher's translation, yet likewise evaded the problem of *yūpa*. He rendered *yūpa-yaṣṭi* simply as 'pinnacle'. He thought, too, that the English editors of the published text had been wrong in their tentative suggestion (accepted by Foucher) that *bhūpasy* = *āṇḍam* might have been a scribe's error for *stūpasy* = *āṇḍam*. Accordingly, Poerbatjaraka rendered it to mean: '...thereupon the dome was constructed, in the same form as that of the king's *stūpa*, so that the pinnacle (i. e. the pinnacle of the small *stūpa* built by the king) was covered over. After that, on top of the new dome a *harmikā* was made; and over it a *payung*? [Javanese for parasol; Sanskrit *chattra*] with big gems was placed.'²

On this particular issue, Paul Mus did not contribute anything new. He merely rejected Poerbatjaraka's version and fell back on Foucher's as the correct one.³

The first scholar to face squarely the problem of *yūpa* was de La

1 The words of Foucher are—'*Et le dôme du stūpa fut fait de telle sorte que le mât (vous savez, ce mât qui sert de hampe) était implanté à l'intérieur. Après quoi, par dessus ce dôme tout fraîchement bâti, on fit le pavilion et, dans l'ordre, on procéda à l'érection de la hampe; dans le pot-à-pluie on enchâssa ces gros joyaux en pierres précieuses que vous savez...*' (*L'Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra*, Vol. I, Paris, 1905, pp. 93-94).

2 '...daarop werd de bol, van denzelfden vorm als die van den koning, gemaakt, zo ó dat de pinakel (van den kleinen *stūpa*, die door den koning was gemaakt) ommanteld werd. Verder werd boven op den allernieuwsten bol een *harmikā* gemaakt en vervolgens de pinakel als top: en op de *payung* (?) werden groote edelgesteenten geplaatst' ('Het Borobudurprobleem', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, Deel 18, 1925, p. 534).

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 50.

Vallée Poussin. Accepting the English editors' tentative reading of *bhūpasy* = *āṇḍam* as *stūpasy* = *āṇḍam*, he went on to suggest that *yūpa-yaṣṭi* might similarly be a corruption of *stūpa-yaṣṭi*.¹ He felt reinforced in this view by the fact that the text was describing a new dome which enveloped an old one (and this in turn he thought gave a clearer explanation of the word *pratipāditā*). Thus his rendering implied that the first of the two *yaṣṭis* was a post implanted within the original *stūpa* (accepting the English editors' reading of *stūpa-yaṣṭi* for *bhūpa-yaṣṭi*) ; and that the second *yaṣṭi* referred to a parasol-staff inserted in the top of the enlarged dome after completion.

This interpretation did not satisfy G. Combaz² who rejected the *a priori* suggestion of the editors that *yūpa-yaṣṭi* might have been a corruption of *stūpa-yaṣṭi*. Moreover, drawing on his specialized knowledge of *stūpa* architecture as it developed in Further Asia, he believed that the original Kṣemaṁkara *caitya*, before enlargement, might have already embodied two axial components, one on top of the other : a *yūpa*-pillar penetrating the dome, on the one hand, and a superimposed *yaṣṭi*-staff bearing parasols, on the other. Therefore, he was the first scholar to make any allowance at all for the possibility that the reading *yūpa* was authentic, although he did not try to explain its significance in a Buddhist context.

After World War II the controversy was revived and more scholars entered the dispute. However, the only ones with new ideas to offer were L. Alsdorf and F. B. J. Kuiper. Alsdorf³ suggested the following rendering of the crucial sentence :

1 'Et l'oeuf (*āṇḍa*) du *stūpa* fut fait de telle sorte que la hampe du *stūpa* (*primitif*) se trouva placée à l'intérieur', meaning 'and the egg (*āṇḍa*) of the *stūpa* was made in such a way that the staff of the (primitive) *stūpa* was placed inside (the dome)'. 'Le marchand construit un nouveau *stūpa* sur l'ancien et le nouveau dôme recouvre l'ancien édifice, la hampe aux ombrelles comprise'. ('Staupikam', *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Harvard-Yenching Institute, Cambridge, Mass., Vol. 2, 1937, pp. 279-81).

2 *L'Evolution du Stūpa en Asie*, Mélanges Chinois et Bouddhiques, L'Institut Belge des Hautes Etudes Chinoises, Vol. IV, Briges, 1937, pp. 49-56.

3 'Der *stūpa* des Kṣemaṁkara', *Studia Indologica, Festschrift für W. Kirfel*, Bonn, 1955, pp. 9-16. He favoured the reading *stūpasya* in place of *bhūpasya*.

THE STŪPA AND THE COSMIC AXIS (YŪPA-YAṢṬI)

'Und die Kuppel des Stūpas wurde so gemacht, das darin die yūpa-yaṣṭi ins Innere eingelassen war...' meaning 'and the dome of the stūpa was so made that within it the yūpa-yaṣṭi was inserted into the interior....'

Thus, while retaining yūpa, he interpreted yūpa-yaṣṭi as identical with the yaṣṭi of the second half of the sentence, thinking that it referred, not to the axial component of the original Kṣemaṅkara stūpa, but to the one inserted after completion of the new dome. He left unexplained why yūpa should have appeared in association with yaṣṭi in the first half of the sentence.

Accepting Alsdorf's interpretation as the most convincing so far offered, Kuiper then resurrected the problem of yūpa, and in particular, sã yūpa-yaṣṭi, with an entirely new solution :

'Now, the final sentence of this passage, viz. varṣasthāle mahāmaṇiratnāni tāny=āropitāni, suggests a comparison with Avadānaśataka, 370. 4, tan=maṇiratnaṃ vipaścinaḥ* stūpa-varṣasthālyām=upari nibaddham, and 383. 6...caitye [caitya-?] varṣasthālyām samāropitam. It is tempting, therefore, also to equate sã yūpa-yaṣṭi to the stūpa-yaṣṭi mentioned in Avadānaśataka, 387. 11 (cf. above stūpa-varṣasthāli).' ¹

Kuiper then underlined what he considered to be the archaeological implications of his conclusions. 'The incorrect reading yūpa-yaṣṭi', he wrote, 'has given rise to the assumption, on which most modern discussions of the construction of the stūpa are founded, that the stūpa contained, besides the yaṣṭi (explained as 'pinnacle'), also a separate element, the yūpa, which is taken to be the 'central post'. Now, it would seem that the emendation proposed entitles us to discard this archaeological theory.'²

However, except for Foucher who ignored axial pillars and their symbolism, archaeologists played no part in the yūpa-yaṣṭi dispute. So let us now see what there is to offer from this angle.

• [Read.—'vipaścinaḥ'.—Ed.]

1 'Yapa-yaṣṭi (Divy. 244. 11)', *Indo-Iranian Journal*, Leiden, Vol. III, 1959, pp. 204-05.

2 It was Professor Kuiper who, as a much valued guide and counsellor, first encouraged me to examine afresh the problem of yūpa-yaṣṭi and I am greatly indebted to him for valuable exchange and discussion. After going through the first draft of this paper, he wrote to me in a personal letter (which I have his permission to quote) that he would be prepared to withdraw his remarks on the archaeological implications of his theory. He then comments as follows :

Up to this point, the debate has centred exclusively upon the word *yūpa* as it appears in a Sanskrit text dealing with the *stūpa*. Its appearance in Pāli texts has been ignored, and, most surprising of all, none of the scholars involved seems to have been aware that the word appears in the most important of all early Buddhist texts dealing with the construction of a *stūpa*, the Pāli *Mahāvamsa*. In Chapter XV, line 175, it is said that king Devānāmpiyatissa (c. 250-210 B. C.), having resolved upon the creation of the Great Stūpa, marked the selected spot with a stone pillar, upon which he engraved the prophesy of Thera Mahinda that the future builder of the monument would be a descendant named king Duṭṭhagāmiṇi. Further on, in Chapter XXVIII. 2, we read that when Duṭṭhagāmiṇi came to the throne (in 161 B. C.), he came across the inscribed pillar erected by his forebear, and thereupon resolved to

'It is at once clear that Foucher's as well as Alsdorf's translation "the cupola of the *stūpa* was so made that a *yūpa-yaṣṭi* had been (was) inserted into the interior" hardly makes good sense. Actually *yatra* cannot mean 'so that', and besides it does not correspond to the initial word *tathā*. If we accept the emendation *tatrā-viddham* for *tathāvidham* we get a logical sentence and a much clearer picture of the situation. The translation of the sentence will then be as follows : "And the cupola of the *stūpa* was left open (lit. : made pierced) at that point where the *yūpa-yaṣṭi* had been placed in the interior". It then follows that the *yūpa-yaṣṭi* here mentioned already formed part of the earlier *stūpa*, and was different from the *yaṣṭi* which was later (*paścāt*) placed on the top.'

'There are two philological difficulties' the first is *yatra*, "where", which only makes sense if the initial word is emended. Before publishing my note in *Indo-Iranian Journal*, Vol. III, 1959, I had sent it to Alsdorf. His reaction was that I was "zu zaghaft" (too timid) and that in view of corrupt state of this text the emendation was certainly correct. The second difficulty is the form *pratipāditā*. I gave no translation in my (published) note, but ever since I have at irregular intervals returned to this passage, because *pratipāditā* was not the form I expected : if the *yūpa-yaṣṭi* was identical with the *yaṣṭi* later placed on top, there should have been a form which expressed "where the *yūpa-yaṣṭi* was to be inserted". I am, accordingly, quite willing now to accept, both on mythological/archaeological and on philological grounds that there was already a *yaṣṭi* in the inside. It then follows that the term used for it need not necessarily have been identical with the name *stūpa-yaṣṭi*, which weakens considerably my argument. It does *not* prove that the reading *yūpa-yaṣṭi* is, therefore, correct.'

It is fair to add that when Professor Kuiper wrote this letter, he was not aware of all the evidence now to follow in this paper.

fulfil the prophesy by building the Great Stūpa on the spot. In the latter context, the word used for the foundation pillar erected in the previous century by king Devānaṃpiyatissa is *yūpa* !¹

So at the finish of the philological debate we find that the word *yūpa*, after being thrown out of the window, now comes back through the front door !

Accepting now as a hypothesis that early *stūpas* did have an axial component called '*yūpa-yaṣṭi*', the first and most crucial question from the archaeological standpoint is whether it is likely to have denoted a single component (thus combining the functions of monumental pillar and parasol-staff), or two separate components ? Fortunately, there is abundant archaeological evidence on which to base a firm answer : in a number of cases we find that the monumental axial pillar and the parasol-staff (or-staffs) existed as separate components; in others, as a single or united component. Moreover, we can show that there was no general rule applying to any particular region or period. From a possible choice of many examples, we shall select five : two showing them as separate components (fig. i and Plate II); and three as united (fig. ii and Plates III and IV).

There are many passages in Vedic and Brāhmaṇical ritual texts showing that the *yūpa*, in common with other forms of sacred pillar, had to be fashioned from the trunk of a sacred tree ritually selected in the forest. ² However, since we learn from the *Mahāvamsa* (XXVIII.2) that the *yūpa* set up by king Devānaṃpiyatissa was made of stone (*silā-yūpaṃ*), and if we allow for this being an authentic record, we must conclude that at least by the third century B. C. this rule was already being relaxed in favour of more durable material. ³

1 *Tato puram pavisanto thapattihane nivesitam passitvana silā-yūpaṃ saritvā pubbakam sutim* meaning 'then, when entering the city, he saw the stone *yūpa* raised upon the site of the (future) *stāpa*'. In the standard English translation of the *Mahāvamsa* by W. Geiger and M. H. Bode (reprinted by the Pāli Text Society, London, 1964), the word *yūpa* is translated as 'pillar', without explanation or discussion.

2 For quotation and detailed discussion of many of these passages, see Odette Vienne, *Le Culte de l'Arbre dans l'Inde Ancienne*, Annales du Musée Guimet, Paris, 1954, especially pp. 25-72.

3 So-called 'Aśoka' pillars were of course likewise exceptions to the rule of sacred pillars having to be wooden. The relation between these pillars and earlier

As to archaeological evidence concerning the *yaṣṭi*, there is no proof that an axially-mounted parasol-staff was a feature of any *stūpa* before the second century B.C.¹

Let us now extend our hypothesis and suppose that the original 'royal dome (*bhūpasy=āṇḍam*)' of the *Divyāvadāna* story, that is, the dome of the original *caitya* built by king Kṣema in honour of the Buddha Kṣemaṃkara, contained a monumental axial pillar of the kind excavated by Bloch at Lauriya-Nandangarh (Plate I). After the merchant had got the king's permission to enlarge it, thus encompassing the original dome within a larger one, how would he have proceeded with regard to the original pillar? Are we to suppose that he would have extracted it like a bad tooth and then replaced it with another? For reasons both practical and religious, this is improbable.² It is more likely that after the dome of the enlarged *stūpa* had completely encompassed the original monument, leaving its wooden axial pillar to rot or to be eaten by white ants, the original axis would have been extended by superimposition of a pole or *yaṣṭi*. In this way its symbolic function would have been retained in a manner which was at once practical and metaphysically meaningful, yet without any radical disturbance of the dome or *āṇḍa*.

There is at least one detail of the archaeological evidence that lends weight to the plausibility of this hypothesis. It occurs in Bloch's 1906 report on his excavations at Lauriya-Nandangarh. After describing how the mounds had been enlarged a number of times and how he dis-

wooden prototypes has been fully discussed in Part III of my series, "'Aśoka" Pillars: A Reassessment of the Evidence', *Burlington Magazine*, London, Vols. 115-118, 1973-76.

- 1 In his important work on the textual sources of the *parinirvāṇa* legend and the obsequies rendered to the Buddha, Prof. André Bareau (*Récherches sur la Biographie du Buddha*, Part II, Publications de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, Vol. LXXVII, Paris, 1971) tells us that only the comparatively late Chinese translations of the *Saṃyuktapiṭaka* and *Vinayapiṭaka* texts mention a *yaṣṭi* in connection with the *stūpa*, and that Indian Pāli and Sanskrit texts are silent on this. From this he concludes that the *yaṣṭi* may be a relatively late feature of *stūpa*-architecture.
- 2 From Hiuen Tsang and others we know that there was a superstition prevailing in medieval Buddhism, and probably inherited from earlier tradition, that the dome of a *stūpa*, once consecrated, should never be entered by man, except at risk.

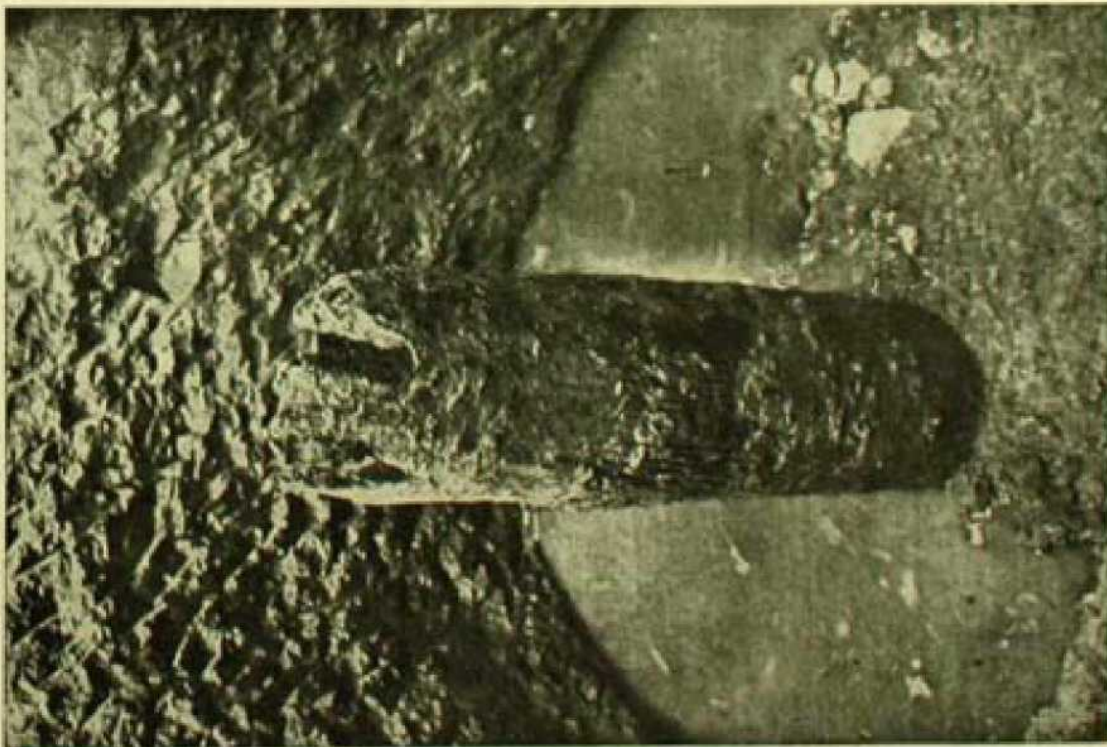


PLATE I. Stump of wooden pillar found in centre
 of Mound 'N' at Lauriya Nandangarh,
 1st millennium B. C.

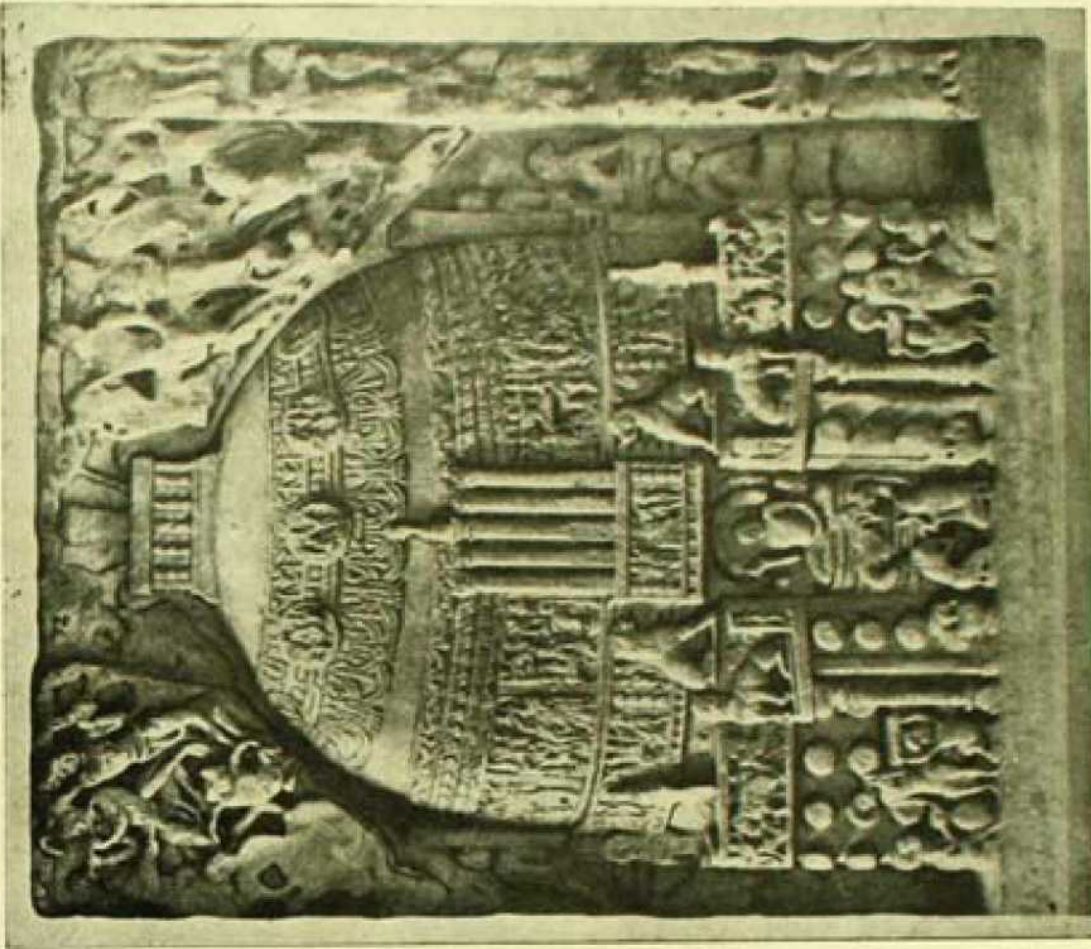


PLATE II. Relief panel depicting *stupa* with axial
 pillar projecting from summit. Amaravati.
 Attributed to late 2nd or early 3rd century
 A. D. (British Museum, No. 72)

ĀCĀRYA-VANDANĀ | D. R. BHANDARKAR BIRTH CENTENARY VOLUME



PLATE III. Reliquary in form of *stupa*, carved in schist. Gandhara. Attributed to 2nd/4th century A. D. (Indian Museum, Calcutta).



PLATE IV. Stone slab engraved with Indian (Pallava) inscription, found near Penang, Malaysia. Attributed by Kern and Chhabra to 5th century A. D. (Indian Museum, Calcutta).

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covered the wooden axial pillar in the centre of one of the mounds, he then adds the following footnote, the full significance of which he could not have realized (the italics are mine) :

'The total length of the wooden shaft must have exceeded 40 ft. [12. 19m.] *if it really consisted of one single beam only*. But even for a Sāl tree, this would be an enormous height, and I feel rather inclined to believe that the hollow inside of the mound had been formed of *two or more pieces of wood placed one above the other*. It thus becomes possible to explain a number of corroded iron nails, found especially in mound 'H', which may have been used for joining the various beams together.'¹

These words, coming from an archaeologist who knew nothing about the textual problem of *yūpa-yaṣṭi*, assume new significance in light of the hypotheses already advanced. They are nonetheless consistent with Alsdorf's rendering of the disputed passage in the *Divyāvadāna*, which was endorsed as convincing by Kuiper at the outset of his own article.

At this point it is interesting to recall some important remarks made by S. Paranavitana. After explaining that the early *stūpas* of Ceylon did not have any *yaṣṭis* or parasol-staffs, he goes on to say : 'We do, however, come across fragments of massive stone shafts on the pavements of the *stūpas* at Anuradhapura and other places in Ceylon. On the pavement of the Abhayagiri Dagaba have been found three fragments of such pillars....It is unlikely that these fragments belonged to stone pillars which stood on the platform or in the precincts of the *stūpas*, for their bases are nowhere to be found. On some of the mounds these octagonal pillars are met with close to the top ; and if they originally stood on the platform, it is difficult to understand why they are now lying on the top or slopes of the mounds. It would not have served any useful purpose for any one to remove these heavy stone pillars from the ground and leave them on the top of slopes of a mound. The likeli-

1 T. Bloch, *op. cit.*, p. 120, note 2. This illuminating footnote throws fresh light on Carlleyle's observation (*Archaeological Survey Reports*, Vol. 22, 1885, p. 40) made twenty years earlier when he was excavating another mound at Lauriya-Nandanagarh. Digging 'downwards from the top of the mound' he too came across 'a few particules of iron totally dissolved with corrosion'.

hood, therefore, is that they were fixed in the dome, projecting above it, and that they have come down, when the *stūpas* were ruined, to the pavements or in some cases remained close to the top of the mounds. Unfortunately, there is now not a single *stūpa* with such a pillar remaining *in situ*...They, therefore, prove that in ancient times the Singhalese used to insert a stone pillar in the centre of the dome...The pillars in question are, evidently, not the shafts of stone umbrellas, for their tops are rounded and could not have supported anything...'¹

The relevance of Paranavitana's report to our thesis does not stop there. He remarks on the fact that these pillars which once occupied the centre of the ancient *stūpa*-domes are octagonal in form and therefore reminiscent of the Vedic *yūpa* which also had to be 'eight-cornered' according to the ritual texts, and concludes : 'Considering the identity in form [between these axial pillars in Buddhist *stūpas* and the Vedic *yūpa*] it seems probable that, the Buddhists only continued a religious practice which prevailed in India long before the origin of their faith, probably with a new significance attached to it. This point also opens up alluring vistas regarding the origin of the *stūpa* : but the scope of the present work does not permit us to pursue them.' In fact, Paranavitana provided one additional major clue, the significance of which he missed. When he enquired of local Buddhist paṇḍits the correct name of these axial pillars, they informed him without hesitation that they were called *indra-kīlas*, yet they could not tell him why. However, in light of the major advances since made in the study of early Indian cosmogony, we need no longer be in any doubt. The *Indra-kīla* (literally, the 'nail' or 'peg' of Indra), we now know was mythologically synonymous both with the Indra-pillar and the *yūpa* : likewise both were synonymous with the instrument Indra used to separate heaven and earth at the Creation and the weapon he used to slay the demon Vṛtra. This opens up a vast new vista we shall not have the space to explore here, but to which we shall return on another occasion.

In this context, our main objective has already been achieved. We have shown that the earliest *stūpas* had, as their central component, a monumental axial pillar linked both formally and metaphysically with the *yūpa* of Vedic and Brāhmaṇical tradition. Before we probe more deeply

1 *The Stupa in Ceylon* (Memoirs of Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, Vol. 5), 1945, pp. 35-36.

THE STŪPA AND THE COSMIC AXIS (YŪPA-YASTI)

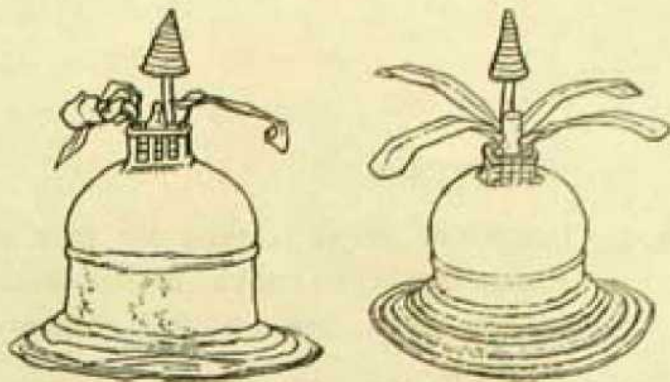


Fig. 1. Gold reliquary in form of a *stūpa*. From Ruvanvali Dagaba, Anuradhapura, Sri Lanka. Paranavitana assigns it to 1st century B. C. ¹ Left : as found in 1946. Right : restored (Archaeological Survey of Ceylon).

into the significance of this discovery, there are a number of new questions to be answered, none of which has been properly examined before.

- (1) Was there, after all, some plausible and even logical reason why Buddhists applied the term *yūpa* to the central component of their *stūpas*—a reason not hitherto recognized by those who have rejected the credibility of this term in a Buddhist context ?
- (2) Do we really know when the *stūpa*-type of monument was first

1 The Runavali Dagaba at Anuradhapura, has long been recognized as one with king Duṭṭhagāmiṇi's Mahāstūpa and the spot where king Devānaṃpiyatissa had earlier erected his *yāpa* to mark the site (as described on pp. 258-59). This reliquary, only 7.6 cm. high, was discovered in 1946 in the fabric of the southern *vāhalkaḍa* attributed by Paranavitana to 'about the second century A. D.'. The best description of the reliquary and the circumstances of its discovery is contained in Paranavitana's report (*Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology for the years 1940-47*, Kern Institute, Leiden, 1950, p. xliii and Plate III /c). Mlle Mireille Bénisti, after seeing a first draft of this paper, expressed to me in a letter her personal doubt about the validity of this piece as evidence on the grounds that the axial pillar and the *chattravali* may originally have been in one piece and subsequently broken and restored. However, it has to be remembered that this reliquary, when discovered, was encased in a stone urn which had protected it from the time it was enshrined. The photographs taken at the time of discovery (one of which is published in the *London Illustrated News*, 11th January, 1947, pp. 52-53, fig. 3) shows that the axial pillar and *Chattravali* were then exactly as we see them now ; and also that whereas the proportions of the pillar denote monumentality, the *chattravali* is a pole of much smaller circumference. I therefore see no reason to revise Paranavitana's positive statement made at the time of excavation that the reliquary 'gives one an idea of the appearance of the monument [i. e. the Mahāstūpa, in which it was enshrined] in the first century B. C.'

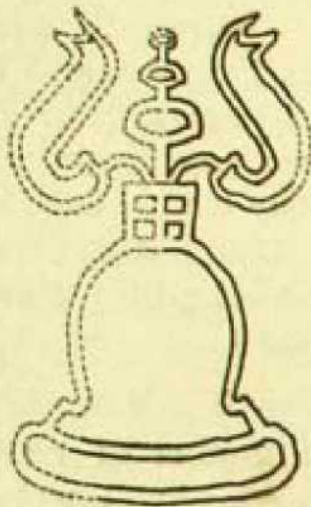


Fig. 2. Intaglio of *stūpa* carved on rock at Kahandagala, Sri Lanka. Paranavitana assigns it to 2nd or 3rd century A. D. ¹

adopted by Buddhism and the actual circumstances of its adoption (notwithstanding the purely legendary information embodied in canonical literature, all of which is of a comparatively late date) ?

- (3) Are we quite sure that the *stūpa* was in fact a sacred shrine of Buddhism before the fourth century B. C. ?

To each of these questions, answers different from those usually given are also being offered by us.² Here only the ground is prepared for an entirely new line of thinking.

1 In his paper 'Archaeological Summary' (*Ceylon Journal of Science*, Section G, Vol. II, Part 2, p. 153 and Plate LXXIX), he described this intaglio as follows : 'An outline drawing of a *stūpa*, engraved on a rock at Kahandagala near Ranna in Magam Pattu, furnishing us with evidence about the appearance of *stūpas* in Ceylon in the second or third century A. D. This engraving, of which, unfortunately, only half is preserved, is to be seen by the side of a second or third century inscription and was undoubtedly contemporaneous with the latter.'

2 See my paper published in *South Asian Archaeology 1977*, cited above (p. 252, note 1) and also my paper 'The Stupa—Its Religious, Historical and Architectural Significance', Südasien-Institut, University of Heidelberg, 1980.

ŚAṬ-CAKRĀṆI CONCEPT AND LALITĀSAHASRANĀMA- BHĀṢYA OF BHĀSKARARĀYA

MICHAEL KEDEM

THE DESCRIPTION OF THE six *cakras* is one of the three main aspects of all the esoteric treatments of the Śāktaśāstra, two others, in our opinion, being represented by the concepts of *Śrī-Cakra* and *Śrī-Vidyā*. The general theory of the *cakras* had been outlined and explained in detail in the famous *Ṣaṭcakranirūpaṇa*. There is no need to repeat its main points. It is, however, of some interest to note that the references to the *ṣaṭ-cakrāṇi* given in the *Lalitāsaahasranāma* and in the brilliant *bhāṣya* to the text composed by Bhāskarakarāya present a kind of an original interpretation of this fundamental standpoint of the Śākta teachings.

Only a part of the characteristics applied to the six plexuses in the *Ṣaṭcakranirūpaṇa* can be found in the *bhāṣya*. *Cakras* are not identified, for example, with elements or symbolic animals ; neither the 'three forms of speech' nor the 'triple modes of *śakti* (*icchā-jñāna-kriyā*)' are mentioned there. A lot of other divergences can easily be noticed. Nevertheless, the account of the topic given by Bhāskarakarāya is not simply a brief summary of an extensive and conclusive outlook of the problem discussed in the *Ṣaṭcakranirūpaṇa*. The *bhāṣya* contains an independent variant of the general theory of the *cakras* treating its several specific assertions as the integral parts of a new philosophical conception permeated by the spirit of unity and integral harmony.

The first and the most important difference between the *Ṣaṭcakranirūpaṇa* and Bhāskarakarāya-*bhāṣya* renditions of the doctrine is connected with the sequence of the *cakras*. The famous treatise of the earlier time insisted on the upward motion of the *kuṇḍilīnī*. The same is the view expressed in the *Kāmakalāvīlāsa* and *Cidvallī*. Quite on the contrary, in Bhāskarakarāya's survey, the cosmic energy emerges from the *viśuddhi-cakra*, moves downward to the *mūlādhāra* and only after that 'falling to the lowest stage of the structure' is going upward from *viśuddhi* to *ājñā* and then to the all-concluding *sahasrāra*. The easiest explanation lies,

of course, in the alphabetic symbolism so cherished and developed by Bhāskararāya (see, for example, his *Varivasyā-rahasya*). *Viśuddhi-cakra* begins the sequence of letters (its sixteen petals are identified with 14 vowels of the alphabet plus *anusvāra* and *visarga*); *anāhata* continues the same order (its 12 signs are compared with the first part of the Devanāgarī consonants, i. e. from *ka* to *ṭha*); *maṇipura* begins with *ḍa* and ends with *pha*, *svādhisthāna* with its six 'petals' covers the space between *bha* and *va*, and *mūlādhāra* embraces only four consonants (*ba*, *śa*, *ṣa* and *sa*). Alphabetic interpretations of the two 'highest plexuses' are extremely simple. *Ājñā-cakra* has only two petals, identified with *ha* and *kṣa*. *Sahasrāra* is above all graphic, phonetic or otherwise explicit attributes, so its main and self-sufficient symbol is *om*.¹

But alphabetical references represent, to our opinion, only the surface of the doctrine. Much more important is the very idea of 'getting downward before going to the highest level'. In this point the teachings of the ancient and mediaeval ages, preserved and intensified by Bhāskararāya, represent nothing else than an anticipation of the much later and far more developed form of the same principle to be found in the integral system of Aurobindo. 'Matter should be spiritualized, otherwise the highest aim of evolution is unattainable'.² This great idea of one of the most prominent philosophers of India is in fact only a natural conclusion of the diversified but internally uniform theoretical searchings of innumerable epochs of the Indian spiritual quest.

The description of the *cakras* always contains in itself some 'basic characteristics' common usually to all the *cakras*. The most fundamental one is connected with the number of petals (or letters, or 'divine companions' of the goddess) attributed to every *cakra*. It is necessary to point out at once that the last of the *cakras*—*sahasrāra* (noticeably it is not included in the list of the 'six plexuses' being the seventh among them)—is not an ordinary *cakra* at all but presents the idea of the *cakra*-system

1 Among modern works elucidating this very topic, T. V. Ramanaiah's *Śrī Lalitā-sahasranāman—Yoga Annotation* (Nelluru, Andhra Pradesh, 1965) should be primarily mentioned here. It deals with the same sequence of the names of the goddess Lalitā and is helpful indeed in understanding some of Bhāskararāya's remarks.

2 Idea repeated so often in *The Life Divine*.

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in its esoteric and undivisible essence. Every *cakra* is defined by a certain syllable, the colour of the face of the goddess Lalitā, by the number of her eyes, her weapons (or, to be precise, by the things held in her hands), number of her faces, her cherished food, the part of the human body representing the corresponding level of existence (a clear hint to the *brahmāṇḍa-piṇḍāṇḍa-ekatā* idea), function of Śakti towards different stages of the spiritual ascension of the human beings, etc.

As regards the detailed classification of the *cakras* as it is explained in the *bhāṣya*, there are some general rules carefully abided by in the 'Thousand names of Lalitā' as well as in the commentary of Bhāskara-rāya. First, each new member of the '*cakra*-system' is nearer to the state of complete perfection than the preceding one. So the 'colours' of the face of the goddess are changing from the almost dark (*ārakta-varṇa* in the *viśuddhi-cakra*) to the pure whiteness (*śukla* in the *ājñā*). Crude kinds of food are replaced by the delicate ones. Not so clear is the 'symbolism of weapons'; perhaps, it is an archaic concept not strictly co-ordinated with the main idea of the scheme. As the structure of the human body is concerned, the list displays a transition from the external to the internal and more essential parts, so it begins with skin (*tvak*), then goes on to blood (*rudhira*), flesh (*māṁsa*), fat (*medas*), bones (*asthi*) and finally marrow (*majjā*). The number of faces of the goddess is augmented in an arithmetical progression; from 1 (*viśuddhi*) to 6 (*ājñā*). As *sahasrāra* follows *ājñā* it is only natural to assume that in this aspect it can be associated with 'seven' as the most sacred of numbers.

Secondly, the threefold division of various phenomena are always combined in the scheme with sixfold or sevenfold one. It is reminded again and again that the goddess has three eyes, this well-known attribute of Śakti being treated here as an important numerical symbol. The 'functions' of the goddess are also threefold. Śakti terrifies the flock of the unpious ones (*paśu-loka-bhayaṁkarī*), gives a boon to the great *vīras* (*mahā-vīr* = *endra-vara-dā*), and finally she grants '*sukha*' to the enlightened ones (*samasta-bhakta-sukha-dā*). *Sukha* mentioned there is undoubtedly a synonym of *mokṣa* (as *bhakta* of the compound can be easily replaced by *divya*), so it would not be an error to render the whole definition as the *sarva-saṁnyāsi-mokṣa-dāyinī*.

Bhāskararāya's remarks on the threefold division of human beings form an important part of his teaching. Suffice it to mention that the ambivalent essence of the *vīrabhāva* (so insistently stressed by Indian texts since the *Gītā*) is explained in the *bhāṣya* with details and in the most profound way. *Vīras* are endowed with astounding divine eloquence.¹ They are drinking continually the nectar of Brahman (*brahma-ras = āmṛta-pāna-śīlāḥ*)². They know brahman directly and are identifying themselves with him (*brahmavidah...brahmā'ham iti sākṣāt kurvanti te indrāḥ*).³ Spoken about in the terms of the three Upaniṣadic states of the soul, they represent the fourth one—*turiya*.⁴

But at the same time they are the causes of the misery of separateness (*bheda-vyasana*) as they themselves symbolize the senses (*indriya*) and their pernicious part in the enthrallment of the spirit. The commentator explains it while speaking about the 'lord of the *vīras*' (*vīreśa*) producing the *bheda-vyasana* through the all-penetrating senses.⁵

The initial dualism is overcome through the mercy of the goddess. Both mutually opposed characteristics of the *vīrabhāva* are personified as Prahlāda and Indra. They were fighting for a hundred celestial years but Śakti finally reconciled them.⁶

So the enmity between two devotees of the goddess was not a sin. It is the very nature of the *vīrabhāva* that caused its split into two self-opposing parts and only through this internal struggle the final unity is to be obtained.

Two other remarks should also be made here. In the first place, though there is no exact hierarchy between different *ma-kāras* in the general scheme of the Tāntric ritual it can be supposed that something like a 'motion' from the first *ma* to the last one was to some extent assumed by the Śākta-Tāntric preceptors. While 'mead' (*madhu*), a kind

1 Cf. under Name No. 493.

2 *Loc. cit.*

3 *Loc. cit.* In accordance with esoteric etymology adopted by the Śāktas, Bhāskararāya uses here 'indra' as a synonym of 'an enlightened *vīra*'.

4 *Loc. cit.*

5 *Loc. cit.*

6 *Loc. cit.*

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of spiritual liquor,¹ is mentioned in connection with the *svādhiṣṭhāna* and the form of devī, presiding over the *mūlādhāra*, is pictured as 'madhu-mada-muditā' (Name No. 514), the characteristics connected with *maithuna* appear when the *sahasrāra* stage is described. Śakti here is 'residing in śukla', (*śukla-saṁsthitā*) and the *bhāṣya* defines 'śukla' according to the context as *ramaṇa-kālīna-dhyāna-viśeṣaḥ*.²

Secondly, on the 'lower levels' the external features of the goddess are the important attributes of her image. So in her manifestation at the *anāhata-cakra* she is called *śyāmā*, the meaning of the term is explained in the *bhāṣya*: *śyāmā śoḍaśa-vārṣikī tayā tulyā śyāmābhā | śyāmā ābhā kāntir yasyā iti vā*.³ The same is told about her form revealed at the *svādhiṣṭhāna*. She is 'extremely proud' (*ati-garvitā*) and the prime cause for that is her beauty (*atīva saundaryādi-kṛto garvo yasyāḥ*, under Name No. 508). At the 'upper plexuses' her very nature is transparent and free from any observable details moving gradually to the state of complete 'nirguṇatva' obtained finally in the all-embracing *sahasrāra*.

Attributes of the 'seventh *cakra*' have no analogies in the characteristics of the 'lower plexuses' and express an entirely different principle. The *sahasrāra* embraces all the qualities ascribed to the six preceding *cakras* and remains at the same time above them. The goddess in the *sahasrāra* is of 'all colours' (*sarva-varṇā*), has 'all kinds of weapons' in her possession (*sarv-āyudhā*), her innumerable faces are turned to all sides (so she is *sarvato-mukhī*), and she tastes all kinds of food. She has thousand petals and is represented by a thousand of *śaktis*. Here a short remark should be made. From numerical point of view the *sahasrāra-cakra* can be expressed by five different symbols:

- (1) infinity, 'without beginning or end' (*an-ādy-anta*);
- (2) 'thousand' as an embodiment of some enormously big quantity in comparison with the number of petals of other plexuses;
- (3) 'seven' as the sacred number and the last member in the 'sequence of the goddess' faces' (1-2-3-4-5-6), see above.

1 In the text it is stated clearly : *madhunā madyena...tathā ca śrutih/yan=madhunā juhōti mahatīm eva tad devatāḥ prīṇāti...* (under Name No. 510 ; see also the interpretation of Ramanaiah, *op. cit.*, p. 165).

2 Under Name No. 531.

3 Under Name No. 486.

(4) 'one', unity, indivisibility. It is only natural to combine the image of the *sahasrāra* with 'oneness' as 'the sequence of petals' (16-12-10-6-4-2) indubitably implies this assumption ;

(5) 'zero', null, void (*śūnya*). The last characteristic is not used in the *bhāṣya* but it is well-known in the Śākta-Tāntric literature. Simultaneously the 'thousand' can be treated as a particular quantity and some detailed speculations are made about it.¹

In the human body *sahasrāra* is identified with *śukla*. The term can be interpreted here in two ways. First, *śukla* as 'semen virile' (see *bhāṣya* under Name No. 528) represents the only element of the organism that bears in itself the germ of new life and as such it is not merely an attribute of one or other particular human body. Secondly, it can be identified with the very energy of the *kuṇḍalinī* and in this sense it can be compared with the *bodhicitta* of the Buddhist Tantra.² The last notion is not developed in the *bhāṣya* but it is quite in accordance with the general spirit of Bhāskararāya's description of the *cakrāṇi*.

The *sahasrāra* representing the absolute in terms of the *ṣaṭ-cakrāṇi* concept is also the communicating link of this part of the doctrine with some other aspects of the Śākta teachings. As the 'last and all-concluding member of the succession' of the *cakras*, it can be compared with the final (sixteenth) syllable of *Śrī-Vidyā* which being devoid of attributes (or including simultaneously *all* of them in itself) symbolizes the esoteric highest goal of spiritual ascension. Dualism between the *saṁguṇa* and *nirguṇa* forms of Śakti is being overcome in the same

1 See below.

2 On the meaning of the *bodhicitta*, see D. L. Snellgrove, *The Hevajra Tantra*, Part I, London, 1959, (especially pp. 25-26, 34).

Sometimes 'the moving force' is *caṇḍālī* which reaches the *bodhicitta* at the *brahma-randhra* (*ibid.*, p. 37). The *bodhicitta* can represent also 'the beginning of the path' (when it is in the 'relative form') and the 'final end of the motion' when it is in its 'absolute condition' (*ibid.*, p. 36). See also S. B. Dasgupta, *Introduction to the Tāntric Buddhism*, Calcutta, 1950 ; Agehananda Bharati, *The Tāntric Tradition*, 1950, etc.

On some important parallels between the Hindu Śākta-Tāntric esoterism and the Buddhist Tantra, see, for example, G. Tucci, *The Theory and Practice of the Maṇḍala*, London, 1969.

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way. The *śaktis* (or petals) are innumerable in *sahasrāra* (or there are 'thousand' of them, see above) and nevertheless there is only one and unchangeable goddess perceived clearly behind the veil of all her manifestations. The well-known identification of petals (*dala*) with letters (*varṇa*) receives there some new and original approach. *Sarva-varṇa* can indicate not only 'the totality of colours' but also 'all the letters of the alphabet', i. e. from *a* to *kṣa* (or as the letters are replaced by the corresponding *śaktis*—'from *Amṛtā* to *Kṣamāvati*'). The number 'thousand' can be divided in ten 'hundreds' (*śata*) and each one of them is identified here with a particular kind of petal (not to be mixed with an 'ordinary petal', though it bears the same name). The *sahasrāra-cakra* is endowed with thousand 'ordinary petals' and consequently ten 'grand petals'. The last ones display their connection with the number 'hundred' as there is hundred of letters (*varṇa*) on every one of them. The number is produced when the letters are pronounced or written in two different ways : first, directly (from *a* to *kṣa*) and then in the reversed order (from *kṣa* to *a*). When the procedure is repeated ten times all the 'particular petals' assume their 'alphabetical content' and the symbolic picture of the *sahasrāra* is complete.¹

The idea of 'reading the letters twice, i. e. in two different orders (*anuloma-viloma-rītyā*)' has been yet used by Bhāskararāya (see the *Varivasyā-rahasya*, 103, and 'Prakāśa' to the stanza) and is a mantric equivalent of the *pravṛtti-nivṛtti* conception of the Śākta-Tāntric ontology. At the same time the recitation of the letters in the way described above is an essential part of some Śākta ritual practices (as is mentioned in the *bhāṣya* under the same name). It means that the theoretical standpoints of the Śāktaśāstra and ritualistic rules prescribed by it compose an indivisible unity when the ultimate summit of spiritual ascension is finally attained. And this is a natural conclusion of the '*śaṭ-cakrāṇi*' section of 'the great *bhāṣya*' of Bhāskararāya.

1 See under Name No. 529.

THE MAMALLAPURAM PENANCE PANEL—ITS INTERPRETATION

MICHAEL LOCKWOOD

A PASSAGE OF the Kasakudi copper-plate grant of Nandivarman Pallavamalla (8th century A. D.) states that 'from Aśokavarman descended the powerful, spotless race of the Pallavas...which resembled the descent of the Gaṅgā (*on earth*), as it purified the whole world'.¹ The comparison made between the advent of the Pallava race and the descent of the Gaṅgā had already been given a graphic and concrete form a century earlier in the great Penance Panel of Mamallapuram.

C. Minakshi pointed out to scholars many years ago another graphic representation of this same idea in the series of sculptured stone panels in the Vaikunthaperumal Temple, Kanchipuram, which illustrate the history of the Pallava race. Describing the fourth panel in the upper row to the left of the entrance, she wrote: 'The...idea that the Pallava race resembled the descent of the Ganges is expressed by the artists by depicting a man, obviously Bhagīratha, performing penance just as in the Gaṅgāvataraṇa scene on the rock at Mamallapuram. Resting on one foot,...his *jaṭā* and beard and his uplifted arms mark him out as one in severe penance.'²

A third Pallava representation of Bhagīratha (chronologically midway between the Penance Panel and the Vaikunthaperumal panel) is found in the facade sandstone carving of the enclosure shrine № 50 of the Kailasanatha Temple, Kanchipuram. There can be no doubt that this figure standing on one foot, with upraised hands and *jaṭā* hairstyle, is Bhagīratha, as the main figure of the same panel is Śiva Gaṅgādhara.

Is it possible to find a Pallava representation of Arjuna in penance which will similarly parallel the debated figure in the Mamallapuram Penance Panel? The answer is a clear-cut 'No'. There is only one

1 *South Indian Inscriptions* (henceforth *Sou. Ind. Ins.*), Vol. II, Part III, p. 355.

2 *The Historical Sculptures of the Vaikunthaperumal Temple, Kāñci* (*Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 63*), Archaeological Survey of India, Delhi, 1941, p. 9.

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appearance of Arjuna in the whole range of extant Pallava art, and that is in the facade sandstone carving of the enclosure shrine №16 of the Kailasanatha Temple at Kanchipuram. In this panel, Arjuna is portrayed fighting with Śiva who is disguised as huntsman (*kirāṭa**). The boar, which is at issue in this fight, is shown prominently at the bottom of the panel.

In our book, *Mahabalipuram Studies*, we mentioned in passing in the Introduction—actually in a footnote—that the Penance Panel of Mamaliapuram was first interpreted as the descent of the Gaṅgā by V. Goloubew in 1914, and that ‘the point which is absolutely fatal to the “Arjuna’s Penance” interpretation is the fact that some of the heavenly beings actually have their backs to Śiva as he grants the boon to the ascetic who is supposedly Arjuna. The problem vanishes if it is the descent of the Gaṅgā which is the centre of attention (the boon granted to Bhagīratha).’¹

Having pronounced on this matter in a somewhat off-hand manner, we were reprimanded by a reviewer of the book. We had, the critic said, endorsed the claim ‘that the great “open air bas relief” represents Bhagīratha’s penance. It might have been thought that the identification with Arjuna’s penance is final and complete after Mr. T. N. Ramachandran’s study of Bhāravi’s *Kirātārjunīyam*. This book makes no reference to that study. It is disheartening that scholars should continue to argue about it.’²

Disheartening or not, the debate continues, and there are many who disagree with Ramachandran and such like-minded scholars as C. Sivaramamurti. These two scholars would interpret the Penance Panel as a gigantic and detailed illustration of Bhāravi’s *Kirātārjunīyam* (the famous Sanskrit poetic composition dealing with Arjuna’s penance and ensuing combat with Śiva as *Kirāṭa*). There is no doubt that these two scholars are backed by deep knowledge of Sanskrit sources, but the vessel of their argument, constructed as it is out of speculative comparisons, is destined, in my opinion, to be shipwrecked on that fatal rock of objective fact which we have footnoted in *Mahabalipuram Studies*.

* [Read.—‘*kirāṭa*’ here and in all places below.—Ed.]

1 Lockwood, Siromoney and Dayarandan, *Mahabalipuram Studies*, Madras, 1974, p. 6.

2 *The Indian Express*, Madras Edition, December 28, 1974.

Let us take a closer look at this question. Ramachandran puts it thus : 'A rocky fissure has been turned into a natural causeway such as would suggest a river course and the right half of the relief is filled up with beholders, participants and applauders of the grand event, *the event in the present case being Arjuna's penance, victory and reward. This event was witnessed by the whole creation of the Lord of the three worlds*'¹. (Italics mine).

And Sivaramamurti, in the official guide book on Mamallapuram published by the Archaeological Survey of India, writes : 'Arjuna's Penance. This magnificent carving is unique in the range of Indian art. Two large boulders with a narrow fissure in between have been chosen to represent a series of rows of gods and goddesses like Candra, Sūrya, pairs of Kinnaras and Siddhas, Gandharvas, Apsaras, etc., rushing towards *a central point near the cleft where a sage stands on his left foot deeply engaged in penance*'...² (Italics mine).

Now both of these learned scholars are shown to wrong in their statements by the fact that just at the foot of the man doing penance are *two* heavenly couples flying by with their backs to what Ramachandran calls the 'grand event', supposedly Arjuna's penance.

This observation may have been made by others before us. But it needs to be repeated. And the proponents of the 'Arjuna's Penance' interpretation must be specifically asked to explain the above mentioned anomaly in their interpretative framework. To my knowledge, Ramachandran and Sivaramamurti have never given such an explanation.

Let me next take up an objection put forward by Ramachandran to the Gaṅgāvataṛaṇa interpretation. He says that the Śiva in the great panel 'is by no means Śiva as Gaṅgādhara. Gaṅgādhara must be Śiva's form if we accept the theory of Bhagīratha's penance. As Gaṅgādhara he should stand with his right leg planted vertically on the

1 T. N. Ramachandran, 'Mamallapuram', *Marg*, Vol. XXIII, No. 3 (June 1970), p. 36.

2 C. Sivaramamurti, *Mahabalipuram*, 3rd. Ed., Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi, 1972, p. 21. Sivaramamurti has indicated his preference for the 'Arjuna's Penance' interpretation elsewhere in more scholarly publications. See, for instance, his *Early Eastern Cālukya Sculpture* which is *Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum : New Series—General Section*, Vol. VII, No. 2, Madras Government Museum, Madras, 1962, pp. 42-46.

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earth and the left slightly bent. His upper right arm should be raised to support a braid of his locks on which river Gaṅgā descends or settles (cf. Trichinopoly cave temple and Adivaraha Cave).¹

Ramachandran, evidently, was not too familiar with Pallava Gaṅgādhara images, for his prescription is inaccurate on every point with relation to the majority of their Gaṅgādhara panels. As a matter of fact, the Trichy Gaṅgādhara image, which he himself refers to, has Śiva with his *left* foot planted solidly, and his right leg bent; and nine out of the eleven Pallava Gaṅgādhara panels have Śiva's *left* hand raised to hold his braids. But all these details are neither here nor there. Why should the Pallavas have to portray Śiva Gaṅgādhara in order to satisfy the Gaṅgāvatarana theme? It would only be an anachronistic imposition of the later rigidity in art traditions on the creative freedom of the Pallava artists. In fact, in this particular case, such a requirement would have resulted in a ludicrous juxtaposition of an anthropomorphic form of Śiva a few feet tall, with the actual torrents of a real (but artificially created) waterfall (which the Pallava engineers had provided) dropping fifty feet from top to bottom of the central cleft. No, the Pallava artists chose to represent Śiva at the moment he appears before Bhagīratha to assure him of the boon. This event precedes the episode in which Śiva takes the form of Gaṅgādhara. It is only the tendency to narrative condensation which would have Śiva's appearance before Bhagīratha straightway in the form of Gaṅgādhara. In the Penance Panel the Gaṅgādhara form is skipped over, and the grand climactic event of the Gaṅgā reaching the earth (with a real waterfall) is shown. There is no difficulty in the Indian art tradition thus showing chronologically distinct episodes in one and the same panel.

How very popular the Gaṅgāvatarana theme was with the Pallavas may be indicated by the following list of Gaṅgādhara panels which have survived from the Pallava period.

1. In Mahendra's Trichy cave-temple. This is the very first major stone sculpted panel of the Pallavas, and thus of South India.
2. In the Adivaraha cave-temple, Mamallapuram.

1 Ramachandran, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

3. In the central niche, north side, second level, of the Dharmaraja Ratha, Mamallapuram.
4. In the central, west-facing lateral shrine of the Kailasanatha Temple, Kanchipuram.
5. In the same temple, on the outer wall of the main sanctum.
6. In the same temple, the facade panel of the enclosure shrine № 24.
7. In the same temple, the facade panel of the enclosure shrine № 50.
8. In the *mukha-maṇḍapa* of the Matangesvara Temple, Kanchipuram.
9. On the north side of the *vimāna* (outside) of the same temple.
10. In the *mukha-maṇḍapa* of the Muktesvara Temple, Kanchipuram.
11. On the north side of the *vimāna* (outside) of the Iravatanesvara Temple, Kanchipuram.

As against these eleven panels, many of which are of impressive size and in important locations, there is the sole instance of Arjuna fighting with Śiva portrayed in an enclosure shrine's facade panel in the Kailasanatha Temple. This panel cannot compare in importance, for instance, with the Gaṅgādhara panel in the lateral shrine of the same temple. If the significance of all this is not lost, and we recognize the Penance Panel of Mamallapuram for what it is, Bhagīratha's penance and reward, then we can appreciate the impress which this spectacle made down the ages.

The Coḷa emperor, Rājendra I, proclaimed in his Thiruvallangadu copper-plate grant that he, 'the light of the solar race, mocking Bhagīratha who by the force of his austerities caused the descent of the Gaṅgā, set out to sanctify his own land with the waters of that stream brought by the strength of his arm'.¹ In bringing back water from the Gaṅgā in golden vessels carried on the heads of the rulers defeated during his victorious march to the north, and then in ceremoniously pouring it into the great man-made lake at his capital city, Gaṅgaikōṇḍaḷapuram, Rājendra meant not only to mock Bhagīratha, but more importantly, to mock the Pallavas and their Mamallapuram make-believe Gaṅgā flowing down into the small pool below.

Empires have come and gone. Fortunately for us, Bhagīratha's Penance at Mamallapuram* has survived.

1 *Sou. Ind. Ins.*, Vol. III, p. 109.

* [It is now called Mahabalipuram.—Ed.]

DIVINE KINGSHIP IN ANGKOR

I. W. MABBETT

ONE ASPECT OF D. R. Bhandarkar's many-faceted contribution to Indology was his concern to promote a critical historical attitude towards sources which were not written as history in the modern sense. True, we are no longer bothered by the particular problem of discouraging young would-be scholars from treating Rāma's chariot that rose up in the air as proof that the ancient Indians had aeroplanes, but, in a more subtle way, the difficulties of inferring historical truth from such material as legends and *praśastis*, along lines that he would approve, are with us still.

One of the larger problems made acute by the gulf between ancient Asian societies and our own cultural environment is the evaluation of the status of kingship in an agriculturally based community pervaded by Indian religious ideas. There is a temptation, on the one hand, to deny the gulf, and to discern similarities to modern Western institutions involving presidents or constitutional monarchs; there is also an opposite temptation, on the other, to magnify the gap by treating rulers of Indian or Indian-influenced states as exponents of a divinized absolutism more powerful than any European monarch ever claimed. The latter temptation is strong when, as in Cambodia, we discover the existence of a royal cult called the *devarāja*, which can be translated as 'god-king'. The purpose here is to focus on this cult and on the related evidence that Angkorian rulers were, or may have been, in some sense identified with gods, surveying the modern literature on the subject and, in doing so, suggesting that a ruler's 'divinity' need not have been as awesome as may appear.

In the first place, it is important to realize that Angkor's official cults representing some form of identification of king with god are not radical innovations: it is a matter of debate how far they can be considered innovations at all. In the pre-Angkorian kingdom or kingdoms of Chenla, rulers sought to assimilate themselves to

their patron gods, at least sometimes or posthumously.¹

Nor was it only the Khmèrs who erected cult *līngas*, emblems of Śiva, under their own names, a practice which may be thought to represent at least a close association between ruler and deity—their Cham neighbours had the same sort of cult. At Mi-son, the *līnga* of Bhadravarman was called Bhadreśvara (the Bhadra-Śiva), and later a successor, Śambhuvarman, rebuilt the *līnga* under the composite name Śambhu-Bhadreśvara. The significance of these *līngas* has been discussed by P. Mus in his article² which allows us to recognize these official cults as sophisticated reincarnations, in an Indian or Indianized body, of the sort of prehistoric cults considered above.

The Angkorian *līnga* shrines may have been novel, then, only in being mounted on a pyramidal monument representing Mount Meru; but what appears superficially to be a major innovation, making royal divinisation explicit, is the *devarāja* cult. The secondary and tertiary literature on Angkor frequently alludes to the *devarāja* cult as the embodiment of Angkorian god-kingship, because *devarāja* can certainly mean 'god-king', and the spectacular prominence of the architecture employed by royal cults, to say nothing of the scale on which manpower was organized in the construction of monuments, can easily be seen as

1 See *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient* (henceforth *Bul. Eco. Fran. Ext. Or.*), Vol. IV, p. 675; *Inscriptions Sanskrites de Campā et du Cambodge* (henceforth *Ins. Sans. Cam. Camb.*), pp. 62, 40; G. Coedès, *Les Inscriptions du Cambodge* (henceforth *Ins. Cam.*), Vol. IV, p. 7. At *Ins. Sans. Cam. Camb.*, p. 62, Jayavarman I is identified unambiguously with Indra. K. Bhattacharya, 'Hari Kambujendra', *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. XXVII (1964-65), pp. 72-78, sees the Khmèr rulers as assimilated to Viṣṇu (Hari) on largely analogical grounds, but A. K. Chakravarti ('Divine Kingship in Ancient Cambodia: A Study of the *Praśastis*' in *Early Indian Political and Administrative Systems*, ed. D. C. Sircar, Calcutta, 1972, pp. 91-113), disagrees (pp. 96-98) and argues that these early references imply primarily a comparison of kings to Indra by virtue of their function. Cf. H. Kulke, 'Der Devarāja-Kult', *Saeculum*, Vol. XXV, No. 1 (1974), pp. 24-55 at p. 29; the kings Bhavavarman, Īśānavarman and Puṣkarakṣa had *līngas* erected under their names.

2 'Cultes Indiens et Indigènes au Campā', *Bul. Eco. Fran. Ext. Or.*, Vol. XXXIII (1933), pp. 367-410: English translation as *India Seen From the East*, Centre of Southeast Asian Studies, Monash University, Australia, 1975, pp. 50f.

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symptoms of king-worship. Yet, as recent research has indicated,¹ the *devarāja* cult properly so called is not to be identified with the more grandiose manifestations of Angkor's religious life. On the contrary, it is a (sometimes minor) ritual known only from a handful of equivocal inscriptional references. It is best to start with these.

The most important source—and perhaps it is almost the only one which carries information about the *devarāja strictu sensu*—is the Sdok Kak Thom stele inscription,² which was engraved at the behest of the eleventh-century head of the priestly family which had been appointed to officiate at the *devarāja* cult at its inauguration by Jayavarman II. Part of its purpose was to establish the claims of the family to the land grants associated with the cult. There are Sanskrit verses and old Khmèr paraphrase. The story is told of how the brahman Hiraṇyadāma founded the cult, passing on his sacred knowledge to the royal chaplain Śivakaivalya, whose family was to have sole right to officiate at it. The rite was established in order that the ruler's sole dominion should be affirmed, free of any Javanese claims to suzerainty. In verse 29 it is said that Hiraṇyadāma, skilled and wise, used the essence of the sacred texts to establish the *siddhis*, magic powers, bearing the name of *devarāja* (*sidhhir vahantīḥ kila devarāj-ābhikhyām*). Here, the name *devarāja* is applied to the powers, not to the king, and therefore appears to be the name of the rite, as some writers have inferred.

In the Khmèr part of the inscription it is said that, at his royal capital on Mount Mahendra, Jayavarman instituted the *devarāja*, the Khmèr equivalent employed being *kamrateñ jagat ta rāja*,³ which can be rendered 'the lord of the universe who is the king'.⁴ There follows

1 See especially H. Kulke, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-55.

2 First edited by E. Aymonier, *Journal Asiatique*, 1901, pp. 5ff.; later by L. Finot, *Bul. Eco. Fran. Ext. Or.*, Vol. XV (1915), pp. 277ff., and most recently by Coedès and P. Dupont, *ibid.*, Vol. XLIII (1943-46), pp. 57-134.

3 Coedès and P. Dupont, *op. cit.*, p. 87, line 56.

4 See Coedès, 'Les Expressions *Vrah Kamrateñ Añ et Kamrateñ Jagat* en Vieux-Khmèr', *Adyar Library Bulletin*, Vol. XXV (1961), pp. 447-60, and below. No claim to proficiency in Old Khmèr is made here. It appears, however, that *Kamrateñ Jagat ta rāja* suffers from the same sort of ambiguity as the Sanskrit *devarāja* (Saveros Pou, personal communication), and without more detailed study of the contexts of this

the history of the cult, which was transferred from place to place as Jayavarman II established a series of capitals. Then, through following reigns, it is mentioned in every case that the family of Śivakaivalya officiated at the *kamraten jagat ta rāja* following the established custom. So far as these allusions go, it appears that the term *devarāja* and its Khmèr equivalent are the name of a legitimization rite or consecration ritual performed for each new king by a priest who is head of the family uniquely associated with it.

A cluster of inscriptional references from Koh Ker (Chok Gargya), where the tenth century ruler Jayavarman IV established his capital and dedicated a stone *līṅga* under the name of Tribhuvaneśvara, are relevant, even if they do not denote the same ritual. These are to the variously named *vraḥ kamraten añ jagat ta rājya*, *vraḥ kamraten añ ta rājya* and *vraḥ kamraten jagat ta rājya*.¹ Coedès identifies these with the *līṅga*, Tribhuvaneśvara, and with the king,² whose cult was thus novel in being dedicated to the god 'lord of the three worlds', whereas his predecessors Indravarman and Yaśovarman had incorporated their own names in those of their *līṅgas* (Indreśvara, etc.). Accordingly, Coedès has argued that the line established at Koh Ker, in inaugurating a new cult identifying the ruler as part of the divinity Śiva Tribhuvaneśvara, represents the beginnings in Angkor of apotheosis as such.³ It is appropriate to mention at this point the view of A. K. Chakravarti, who minimises the degree of divinisation claimed for rulers in Chenla and ninth-century Angkor, and sees apotheosis as becoming fully-fledged only with Jayavarman V in the tenth century.⁴ On both these views, the *devarāja* cult

expression, which alone can supply a reliable guide to its meaning, no firm conclusion can be reached about its significance.

1 *Ins. Cam.*, Vol. I, 47-71 (at p. 48) ; K. 188 (line 1) and pp. 49f. where donations to the *Kamraten an jagat ta rājya* are listed ; *ibid.*, K. 189. Coedès, *Adyar Library Bulletin*, Vol. XXV, p. 450.

2 *Loc. cit.*

3 'Le Vritable Fondateur du Culte de la Royauté Divine au Cambodge', in *R. C. Majumdar Felicitation Volume*, éd. H. B. Sarkar, Calcutta, 1970, pp. 56-66.

4 *Op. cit.*, pp. 91-113. This is part of a view of the Angkorian monarchy according to which, from the tenth century on, kings began to claim much wider political, and social powers, surpassing those of Indian rulers. See also Chakravarti's paper

of Jayavarman II did not imply complete identification of king with god.¹

To these inscriptional references alluding to the cult at Koh Ker may be added one from the time of Udayādityavarman (1001-02 A. D.) which indicates that high officials of his were making endowments to the *kamrateñ añ jagat ta rāja*.² (This inscription, as will be noticed below, has been seen as providing evidence that, since the *devarāja* cult described by Sdok Kak Thom stele inscription was by then back at Angkor, the Koh Ker cult inaugurated by Jayavarman IV was not the same thing).³

Other allusions to the 'lord who is the king' or its variants are scattered and sometimes inconspicuous epigraphic references which, unless the reader supplies a context from inferences already made, give no hint of the awesome majesty of an oriental god-king. Perhaps the earliest inscriptional mention of the *devarāja* is a verse full of typical *doubles entendres* in which Indravarman (877-89 A. D.) records his consecration by the same rite as the god Indra's kingship over the gods, in terms which can also be taken to refer to the consecration on Mount Mahendra, the *devarāja* cult inaugurated by Jayavarman II.⁴

The rest of the references to be noted, to the cult or to similarly titled divinities, are in Old Khmèr. *Kamrateñ añ ta rājya* occurs in an inscription of Jayavarman V dating from 980 A. D. and recording donations made to the cult presided over by Śivakaivalya's successors,⁵ and in another inscription of the same reign it is mentioned that the *vraḥ kamrateñ añ ta rājya* is to receive one *lih* of paddy daily for the holy fire.⁶ In an inscription of 1001 A. D., a *kamrateñ añ ta rāja* is mentioned as having been founded in the past by a relative of

'The Caste System in Ancient Cambodia', *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, Vol. IV, pp. 14-59.

- 1 According to A. K. Chakravarti (cf. *Early Indian Political and Administrative Systems* p. 102), it represented at best a 'quasi-divine' theory of kingship.
- 2 *Ins. Cam.*, Vol. I, p. 50 ; Prāsāt Thom, K. 682 (lines 3-6).
- 3 See H. Kulke, *op. cit.*, pp. 44f.
- 4 *Ins. Cam.*, Vol. I, pp. 72-81 (Verse 6).
- 5 Coedès, 'Le Site de Janapada d'après une Inscription de Prāsāt Khna', *Bul. Eco. Fran. Ext. Or.*, Vol. XLIII (1943-46), p. 10, line 9.
- 6 *Ins. Cam.*, Vol. VI, pp. 173-80 (K. 175, Kok Rosei stele inscription), p. 105.

Jayavarman II.¹ Then there is silence until the period of frenetic monument building around the turn of the thirteenth century, with the reign of Jayavarman VII. An inscription in an exterior gallery, listing statues once there, records the *kamrateñ jagat ta rāja* ; significant, perhaps, of the association of this cult object with purely local divinities that had chthonic roots is the fact that it occurs in a list which includes many toponyms. ² Elsewhere the *kamrateñ jagat ta rāja* is listed in a context where there are many examples of divinization of individuals, royal and non-royal alike,³ and it is important to bear in mind that, whatever the identification of an individual with a deity in a cult image may have entailed, it was not so mighty an attribute that only kings could have it.

In another inscription are mentioned images of human individuals who are sculpted in the form of deities, in a manner suggesting a contrast between *kamrateñ jagat* as a title for a god and *vrah kamrateñ añ* for a living dignitary, who might ascend to divine rank after his death.⁴

Such references raise the problem of distinguishing whatever *nuances* there may be in the different Khmèr expressions that we meet. *Vrah*, 'sacred', is prefixed to many titles, of people or institutions, with religious functions or high dignity. *Kamrateñ*, 'lord', need not be changed much in meaning with the addition of the first-person pronoun *añ* (seigneur, monseigneur).⁵ *Jagat*, 'world' or 'universe', is Sanskrit ; so of course is *rāja*, which with the suffix *-ya* means literally the condition or activity of a king. In his earlier discussion, Coedès supposed that up to the tenth century among the Khmèrs *kamrateñ añ* could refer to gods, kings and dignitaries, whereas thereafter *kamrateñ jagat*, 'lord of the world', came to be used for gods. ⁶ In

1 *Bul. Eco. Fran. Ext. Or.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 142.

2 Coedès, 'La Date du Bayon', *Bul. Eco. Fran. Ext. Or.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 105.

3 *Ins. Cam.*, Vol. III, pp. 193-98 (K. 293).

4 *Bul. Eco. Fran. Ext. Or.*, Vol. XLIV, p. 107 (C. 3 : *Kamrateñ jagat Trailokyarājesvara rāpa vrah kamrateñ añ Śrī Trailokyapaṇḍita*), and similarly C. 6 (K. J. *Śrī Rājendravallabhadeva rāpa V. K. A. Śrī Rājendravallabhavarma*). According to Saveros Pou, *kamrateñ jagat* occurs in a name, *vrah kamrateñ añ* as an appellative (personal communication).

5 Coedès, *Adyar Library Bulletin*, Vol. XXV, pp. 447-49, where he discusses his own earlier opinions and those of J. Filliozat.

6 *Pour Mieux Comprendre Angkor*, Paris, 1947, p. 44.

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1960 J. Filliozat argued that *kamrateñ jagat* is 'the lord in his essence', while *kamrateñ añ* is the human lord, or the god in a particular concrete manifestation.¹ In his later discussion,² Coedès assimilates to each other the *vraḥ kamrateñ añ jagat ta rājya*, *vraḥ kamrateñ añ ta rājya* and *vraḥ kamrateñ jagat ta rājya* of Jayavarman IV all referring to his new cult of Śiva lord of the three worlds, Tribhuvaneśvara, in which the royal essence in the *liṅga* was fused with the god and the essence of the kingdom, *rājya*. In this cult, *kamrateñ jagat* was introduced as the Khmèr equivalent of Tribhuvaneśvara (lord of the universe—the three worlds) and thereafter, never preceded by *vraḥ*, came to be applied to particular, concrete images, whether Śiva *liṅgas* or dead humans, while *kamrateñ añ* referred to Indian gods (not particular local manifestations), kings and dignitaries (not particular, unique images of them).

How, then, should we look upon the particular cult, known as the *devarāja* in Sanskrit and the *kamrateñ jagat ta rāja* in Old Khmèr, which is described in the Sdok Kak Thom stele inscription? To what exactly do these words refer?

There is of course a substantial literature around this cult, perhaps too substantial a literature, for by being discussed interminably it may come to be regarded (as indeed it probably is already) as more important in the social, political and religious life of the Khmèrs than it really was. L. Finot, taking *devarāja* as a *karmadhāraya* compound, saw it as a super-personal royal essence, and as a ritual rather than a concrete image.³ P. Stern saw it as a ritual centring on a royal *liṅga* (which would be a different one for each reign) rather than as a particular localized shrine.⁴ Coedès identified it with the cult of the royal *liṅgas*,⁵ and as we have seen detected a development to full-scale apotheosis under Jayavarman IV. H. de Mestier du Bourg emphasized its continuity with pre-Angkorian cults and suggested that

1 'Sur L'Esprit de la Civilisation Khmère', *Cambodge d'Aujourd'hui*, 1960, p. 25.

2 *Adyar Library Bulletin*, Vol. XXV, pp. 447-60.

3 'Sur Quelques Traditions Indochinoises', *B. C. A. I.*, 1911, pp. 20-37.

4 'Le Temple-montagne Khmèr. Le culte du *liṅga* et le *devarāja*', *Bul. Eco. Fran. Or.*, Vol., XXXIV (1934), pp. 611-16 (esp. p. 615).

5 *Pour Mieux Comprendre Angkor*, Paris, 1947, Chapter 2.

it represents an institutionalization of them ; ¹ A. K. Chakravarti detected an evolution of god-kingship in it, a theory of royal divinity becoming fully-fledged only with Jayavarman V ; ² J. Filliozat, in an important article not so far mentioned here, uses Tamil sources showing that in South India Śiva was honoured as king of the gods and suggests that, since the Khmèrs had such Indian traditions to draw upon, *devarāja* is likely to have denoted Śiva himself.³

Most light, perhaps, is shed by a recent study by H. Kulke. ⁴ He is concerned to divorce the evidence about the *devarāja strictu sensu*, known from epigraphy, from the evidence of architecture, which should not be confused. Since the Sdok Kak Thom inscription indicates that the *devarāja* followed kings about, he argues, it was not a particular temple *linga* on a symbolic mountain, but it did (as a study of the language of the inscription suggests to him) have a physical personality: it was a sort of palladium or duplicate image carried in procession. Following the line suggested by J. Filliozat, H. Kulke identifies this *calanti pratimā* as Śiva, king of the gods.

He then considers the rite instituted by Jayavarman IV, centred on the *linga* Tribhuvaneśvara, which (as we noticed above) is not identical with the *devarāja*. Jayavarman, a usurper, needed to establish a new divine ruler of which he, the earthly ruler, partook as a part or morsel (*aṁśa*), an idea recurring in later inscriptions. ⁵ By the eleventh century the idea became current that the ruler's *linga* enshrined his inner self, which was a part of Śiva ; this (unlike the *devarāja*) was the hub of the kingdom. By the time of Jayavarman VII, we witness the currency of a legitimization idea whereby Brahmā took from Śiva his strength (*śakti*) and bestowed it upon the ruler. ⁶ The complex and subtle Buddhist symbolism of the Bayon of Jayavarman VII is a large

1 'A Propos du Culte du dieu-roi (*devarāja*) au Cambodge', *Cahiers d'Histoire Mondiale*, Vol. 11 (1968-69), pp. 499-516.

2 See above, p. 278 note 1 and p. 281 note 1.

3 'New Researches on the Relations between India and Cambodia', *Indica*, Vol. III (1966), pp. 95-106.

4 *Op. cit.*, pp. 24-55.

5 *Op. cit.*, p. 47.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 52 and *Ins. Cam.*, Vol. IV, pp. 207-50 (K. 287-88. Prāsāt Crun).

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subject by itself, full of prehistoric, historical and metaphysical resonances ; it deserves more extended treatment than it can be accorded and will be left on one side.¹

If we accept this interpretation of the *devarāja* in Angkor, we are no longer able to regard it as a programme for despotism, a device to secure the abject submission of what, on such a hypothesis, must be a curiously gullible population. More subtly, and more interestingly, we find that the *devarāja* itself is not a god-king but an image or talisman protecting the ruler, and that new official cults are instituted as political acts to give legitimacy to kings (Jayavarman II, Jayavarman IV) who have yet to make themselves secure. That kings, even Jayavarman II, were considered to be in some sense divine is not excluded by this interpretation,² and indeed it appears that as the power and wealth of Angkor grew the theory became more explicit. We are left, however, with the impression that this divinisation is as much an attempt to create a link with an archaic past as a means to engineer an increasingly autocratic future.

1 But see P. Mus, 'Le Sourire d'Angkor', *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. XXIV (1961), pp. 363-81, and B. P. Groslier and J. Dumarcay, *Le Bayon*, Paris, 1973.

2 See H. Kulke, *op. cit.*, p. 40, note 76.

UDAYACANDRA—A GREAT PALLAVA GENERAL

T. V. MAHALINGAM

IN THE ANNALS OF Indian history there are a number of distinguished men who by their military achievements and diplomatic successes have changed the course of the history of their respective kingdoms. One such person was Udayacandra, the famous commander-in-chief under the Pallava king Nandivarman II Pallavamalla (c. A. D. 731-96). The reign-period of this Pallava king constitutes an important epoch in the history of South India. It witnessed the downfall of the mighty kingdom of the Western Cālukyas of Vātāpi in the reign of Kīrtivarman II (A. D. 745-57) and the rise of the Rāṣtrakūṭas under Dantidurga (c. A. D. 735-56) as the successors of the Cālukyas. Besides, the epoch is also important since it was during that period that the Pāṇḍyas of Madurai also emerged as a strong power in the extreme south of the Peninsula. It is possible that Nandivarman II played a great part in these political developments around his kingdom. He was hardly twelve years old when he ascended the Pallava throne, and for a good part of his reign, it seems he was greatly assisted by Udayacandra in stabilising his power and authority against severe opposition from within and outside the Pallava kingdom. The present paper is a short account of the Pallava general Udayacandra who served his young master well with devotion and loyalty.

Much of the information about Udayacandra is available from the Udayendiram charter¹ which is the earliest among the copper-plate charters issued in the reign of Nandivarman II. Udayacandra is descri-

1 Udayendiram Plates of Nandivarman II, dated in his 21st regnal year (c. A. D. 752). These plates, five in number, in Sanskrit language and Grantha script record the gift of the village of Kumāramaṅgala Vellattūr renamed as Udayacandramaṅgalam to 108 Brāhmaṇas at the request of Udayacandra of the Pacān family. The record also bears a Tamil endorsement made in the 26th regnal year of Cola Parakesari-varman (Parāntaka I), 'who took Madirai'—see *South Indian Inscriptions* (henceforth *Sou. Ind. Ins.*), Vol. II, No. 74 ; T. N. Subrahmanyam, *Thirty Pallava Copper Plates* (Tamil), pp. 107-40.

bed in it as born of 'the race of *Pūcān* which had been in the uninterrupted hereditary service of the Pallava family'.¹ We do not have any earlier or later reference to this family of *Pūcān* in South Indian history. Interestingly one hears of a people bearing a similar name in Indo-China. C. G. E. Gerini in his *Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia* has noticed this fact. He writes : 'According to recent explorers, local tradition points to the two great families of *Pu-erh* and *Pu-cha* as being the original occupiers of the region comprised between the Me-Khong at Luang Phrah Bāng, the Black River, and the Tonkinese borders, now improperly termed the country of the *Muang*, because of its having been in a later period organised into districts by the Lau conquerors'. He further adds : 'As regards the *Pu-cha*, they evidently correspond to the people otherwise called *Chā Khmu* and *Khā-cheh*... Chinese writers attach them to the *Chung-jen* or *Chung-kia* of *Kwang Hoi* and through them to the *Miao* stock. This means that they belong to the *Mōñ-Annam* or *Chieng* race as we know in fact their kinsmen the *Khmu* or the *Khā-cheh* do'.² The *Pu-cha* race mentioned by the Chinese writers may be the same from which Udayacandra descended. The extensive trans-oceanic contacts of the Pallavas of Kanchipuram are well known from several pieces of evidence, especially of the reign of Rājasiṃha.³ Hence it is not improbable that Udayacandra of the *Pu-cha* family sought service under the Pallavas. The expression 'the race of *Pūcān* which had been in the uninterrupted hereditary service of the Pallava family' makes it clear that even the ancestors of Udayacandra served the Pallavas.⁴

1 Udayendiram charter, lines 45-46.

2 *Op. cit.*, pp. 363-64.

3 See *Kāñcīpuram in Early South Indian History* by the present author, under 'Narasimhavarman II Rājasiṃha', pp. 109-32.

4 It is not known at present if the members of the family of *Pu-ca* served under the Pallavas of Kāñcī or the rulers of their collateral line ruling over the Indo-China region. In the latter case Udayacandra should have accompanied Pallavamalla to Kāñcī. But the Vaikuntha Perumal temple label inscriptions (see *Sou. Ind. Ins.*, Vol. IV, No. 135) do not mention that Udayacandra accompanied Pallavamalla. But one cannot expect that all that is not mentioned in the epigraph are untrue. Since there is no evidence in the earlier Pallava inscriptions regarding this race of *Pu-ca* settling in South India, it is possible to assume that he might have come along with Pallavamalla to Kāñcī.

The Udayendiram charter also describes the hero as 'the chastiser of hostile armies, the excellent hero, called Udayacandra, who was the lord of the river Vegavati..., who was the lord of the city called Vilvala....'¹ The city of Vilvalapura has been identified with Villivalam in the Kanchipuram taluk, Chingleput District, and the river Vegavati may be the same as the branch of the river Palaru which passes through Kanchipuram and meets the Palaru near Villivalam. It is not known when Udayacandra was made the lord of the territory on the banks of the river Vegavati. This territory more or less lay in the heartland of the Pallava kingdom and by A. D. 752 Udayacandra was the lord of the tract.²

The Udayendiram plates enumerate Udayacandra's victories over a few kings and kingdoms, as also certain battle-fields in an order which cannot be taken to be in a chronological order. Nevertheless, it is possible to arrange the battle-fields mentioned in the plates in a chronological order with the aid of contemporary epigraphical evidence and also internal evidence supplied by the same plates.

It is said in the Udayendiram plates that king Nandivarman gifted the village in order to reward (the deeds of) the edge of the sword of Udayacandra who has bestowed the whole kingdom on his lord. This suggests that the period of trouble and turmoil in the Pallava kingdom was over, the king's position secure, and he felicitated his faithful general Udayacandra. This could not have been possible if his position was threatened at the rear by another contestant to the throne. Hence the killing of Citramāya, the rival Pallava king and contestant to the throne, recorded in the plates, should have been, in all probability, the final and decisive achievement of the general which took place a little before the date of the present charter, i. e. before A. D. 752. Obviously this achievement is stated first in the *prasaṣṭi* because of its great importance.

The battles at Nimba (vana), Cūtavana, Śaṅkaragrāma, Nellūru, Nelveli and Śurāvaḷundūr in which the general came out successful, enabled him to bestow the whole Pallava kingdom 'many times' on

1 Udayendiram charter, lines 41-46 ; also Verse 2.

2 So far no inscription of Nandivarman II has been found in the Chingleput District prior to the date of the Udayendiram plates which refer to Vilvalapura which can be identified with Villivalam in that district.

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the Pallava. It is clear from the phraseology of the *praśasti* that these battles formed part of a series of campaigns which lasted for many years, the results of which were, however, all short-lived, to recover the 'whole kingdom' for Nandivarman II. Hence they should have been fought during the period beginning from the very accession of the Pallava king, when his troubles started until the beheading of Citramāya, which act of Udayacandra curbed the rival factions against Nandivarman II. These battles should have been fought in and around the Pallava kingdom from A. D. 731 to A. D. 752.

The victories over the Śabara chief Udayana at Nelveli and the *Niṣādapati* Pṛthvivvyāghra might have been fought by the general for the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dantidurga, as will be seen in the sequel. These battles should have been fought after A. D. 743, since in that year Dantidurga took part in a Cālukya invasion against the Pallava king, as a subordinate of the Cālukyas, undertaken by the Cālukya *Yuvarāja* Kīrtivarman II. The lower limit of the date of these battles is furnished by the Udayendiram plates themselves. The plates clearly state that the territory of Viṣṇurāja was annexed to the Pallava kingdom. Viṣṇurāja may be identified with the Eastern Cālukya king Viṣṇuvardhana III, who may be the same as the 'Caḷukki Araśar' mentioned as a subordinate of Nandivarman II in the Mallam inscription¹ dated in the fifteenth year of his reign (A. D. 746). Hence it is possible that between A. D. 743 and 746 Udayacandra fought the battles against the chiefs of Sabara and Niṣāda for Dantidurga and closely following them annexed the Eastern Cālukya territory to the Pallava kingdom.

The destruction of the fort of Kāḷidurgā which was protected by the goddess Kāḷi and the victory in the battle at Maṇṇaikkudī over the Pāṇḍyas, must have formed part of a campaign against the Pāṇḍyas and in connection with the siege of Nandivarman II at Nandipura and the consequent beheading of Citramāya sometime before A. D. 752.

Before proceeding to examine the details, mentioned above, relating to the achievements of Udayacandra, it is necessary to review

1 Butterworth and Venugopal Chetty, *Inscriptions of the Nellore District*, Part I, No. 54; also *Transactions of the Archaeological Society of South India*, 1959-60, pp. 17-27, for a critical study of the inscription by the author.

the political conditions in the Pallava country during the period since they have some bearing on the career and work of Udayacandra.

Sometime in c. A. D. 731 Pallava Paramēśvaravarman II (A. D. 728-29 to 731), son of Narasimhavarman II Rājasimha, met with his death at the hands of Gaṅga Śrīpuruṣa (c. A. D. 725-88) in the battle of Viḷande.¹ It seems, Paramēśvaravarman II had no sons to succeed him or he had not selected his heir-apparent, if he had sons to succeed him, or the selected *Yuvarāja* was not acceptable to the courtiers and subordinate chiefs of the Pallava kingdom. Whatever may be the reason, it is evident from contemporary inscriptions that the Pallava kingdom was plunged into anarchy immediately thereafter. There were more than two contestants to the Pallava throne and different factions among the Pallava courtiers.

Paramēśvara *alias* Pallavamalla, a prince of a little known collateral branch of the Pallavas ruling over a distant island in South-East Asia, succeeded Paramēśvaravarman II in c. A. D. 731.² Nandivarman II (the *abhiṣeka* name of Pallavamalla) had to face severe opposition from within and without the Pallava kingdom even from the time of his accession to the throne at Kāñcī. His main internal opponent was Skandaśiṣya-Vikramavarman, the issuer of the Rayakota plates³ dated in the fourteenth year of his reign. The plates do not mention the dynasty to which the donor king belonged. But the mythical genealogy attributed to him in it is the same as the one found in the Pallava

- 1 *Ep. Car.*, Vol. VIII, NR. 35, pp. 251 (Text) and 135 (Translation); This Gaṅga inscription refers to the death of one *Kāḍuvettī* of the warlike Kāñcī at the hands of Gaṅga Śrīpuruṣa. The *Kāḍuvettī* mentioned in the epigraph may be identical with Pallava Paramēśvaravarman II.
- 2 The events leading to the accession of this prince of the collateral branch of the Pallavas at the tender age of twelve to the Pallava throne at Kāñcī are described in the explanatory labels engraved beneath the sculptures depicting the incidents relating to his selection and coronation (*Sou. Ind. Ins.*, Vol. IV, No. 135; also C. Minakshi, *The Historical Sculptures of the Vaiṣṇa Perumāḷ Temple, Kāñcī* (*Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 63, Appendix I), pp. 54-55; For a detailed discussion, see author's *Kāñcīpuram in Early South Indian History*, pp. 130-55.
- 3 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, pp. 49-53; *Transactions of the Arch. Soc. of South India*, 1957-58, pp. 55-66.

grants. The name 'Skandaśiṣya' was borne by an early Pallava king according to the Velurpalaiyam plates¹ of Pallava Nandivarman III. Hence it is possible that Skandaśiṣya-Vikramavarman of the Rayakota plates was a Pallava king and was ruling over a part of the Pallava kingdom by A. D. 750, the date of the record as gleaned from its palaeography. But he is nowhere mentioned in the subsequent Pallava records and on that account could not be included in the regular Pallava line. It is indisputable that from A. D. 731 to 796 Nandivarman II was the ruling monarch of the Pallava kingdom. The early period of Nandivarman II's reign is a confused one when anarchial conditions prevailed. Udayacandra had to fight a good number of battles inside the Pallava kingdom too to secure his ward's position. This leads one to think that on the death of Parameśvaravarman II, the predecessor of Nandivarman II, the kingdom disintegrated and Skandaśiṣya carved out a separate kingdom for himself inside the Pallava territory itself as the leading citizens of the Pallava kingdom insisted 'purity of descent' (*ubhayakula pariśuddha*) as one of the essential qualifications for their king which, it seems, he lacked. This Skandaśiṣya may be identified with Citramāya, the Pallava king mentioned in the Udayendiram plates. It is possible that *Citramāya* may be an epithet of Skandaśiṣya. When Pallavamalla was selected for the throne and he entered Kāñcī he was opposed by one Pallavadi Araiyaṛ, probably an ally of Skandaśiṣya. This Skandaśiṣya had the support of the Cālukyas of Vātāpi, the Pāṇḍyas of Madurai and the local Bāṇa subordinate. That may be the reason why soon after Pallavamalla ascended the throne, Cālukya Vikramāditya II invaded the Pallava kingdom and drove him out. But Nandivarman II was able to gain authority over Kāñcī, thanks to Udayacandra, 'who bestowed many times the Pallava kingdom on his lord'.

Now the achievements of Udayacandra may be taken individually and assessed. It is said that the tug of war between the Pallava king Nandivarman II assisted by Udayacandra and the opponent Skandaśiṣya *alias* Citramāya helped by outside powers, resulted in frequent battles in the Pallava territory, the outcome of which was not of a permanent

1 *Sou. Ind. Ins.*, Vol. II, pp. 508:ff.

nature. The Udayendiram charter mentions, as said earlier, that 'Udayacandra defeated the hostile army on the battle-fields of Nimbavana, Cūtavana, Śaṅkaragrāma, Nellūru, Nelveli and Śūrāvaḷundūr'. A number of places have been suggested by scholars for the identification of the battle-fields mentioned in the charter. Plausibly, Nimbavana may be identified with Veppankadu in the Pudukkottai region ; Cūtavana with Mangadu in the Sriperumbudur taluk of the Chingleput District ; Śaṅkaragrāma with Sankaranarkudikkadu in the hinterland between the Cōḷa and Pāṇḍya territories ; Nellūru with the present headquarters of the Nellore District, Andhra Pradesh ; Śūrāvaḷundūr in the Chidambaram taluk of the South Arcot District and Nelveli with the village in the Kaveri delta which gave the name Nelveli-nāḍu, a sub-division of Tenkarai-Panaiyūr-nāḍu in Cōḷamaṇḍalam.¹

Thus the battles at Cūtavana and Śūrāvaḷundūr were fought in the heart of the Pallava country, the one at Nellūru in the northern border and the other ones at Nimbavana, Śaṅkaragrāma and Nelveli in the south. It cannot be ascertained with whom Udayacandra fought in all the above battles. A tentative suggestion may, however, be made that they were waged against Nandivarman II's rival Skandaśiṣya *alias* Citramāya in which the latter was given substantial help by the Cālukyas and the Pāṇḍyas. The battles took place at different times and at different places.

While Udayacandra was facing the prolonged opposition directed against his master by the rival contestant to the throne, the Cālukya and Pāṇḍya rulers also harassed the Pallava king respectively in the north and the south. The Kendur plates² of Vikramāditya II state that Kīrtivarman II, the Cālukya *Yuvarāja*, 'having asked for and obtained an order (from his father) to put down the lord of Kāñcī, the enemy of his family, led an expedition, defeated the Pallava king in every quarter, who unable to meet him in open

1 A detailed study of the various identifications and the opinions of different scholars on them have been made in the *Kāñcīpuram in Early South Indian History*, under Nandivarman II. The author has revised here a few suggestions made in the book.

2 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 206.

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battle-field had taken refuge in fort, made him powerless, took possession of many ruttish elephants, gold and crores of rubies and delivered them to his father'. The same achievement is also found repeated in the Vakkaleri plates.¹ This invasion seems to have taken place sometime in c. A. D. 743. It is probable that Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dantidurga, a rising feudatory of the Cālukyas, might have also accompanied Kīrtivarman with his own battalions and shared the credit of victory.² The Cālukya invasion was the last one against the Pallavas, after which incident, Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dantidurga rose to power and eventually caused the decline of the Cālukyas. It is highly probable that Dantidurga would have concluded an alliance with Nandivarman II to get help from him for his own ambitions against the Cālukyas of Vātāpi. It is in this context that the three achievements of Udayacandra recorded in the Udayendiram charter, namely the victory over Udayana, the Śabara chief, and Pṛthivīvyāghra, the Niṣāda chief, and the annexation of the territory of Viṣṇurāja, to the Pallava kingdom deserve careful examination.

We have elsewhere³ discussed the problem and identified the Śabara chief Udayana with his namesake who is found mentioned in the Sanjan plates of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Amoghavarṣa as the great-grandfather of a certain Candragupta of the Śabara family ruling over the area round about Jabbalpore. Similarly Pṛthivīvyāghra, the king of the Niṣādas, may be a ruler of the Nala dynasty who governed the Berar and Bastar regions. In fact, we get a reference to a Pṛthivīvyāghra mentioned as one of the predecessors of one Vilāsatuṅga of the Nalas in an inscription at Rajim in the Raipur District of Madhya Pradesh.

These conquests by Udayacandra on behalf of his master would naturally suggest that the Pallava rule extended over the Vindhyan region. But that does not seem to be possible for the Pallavas, since the kingdom itself was involved fully in internal wars. But we know that it was Dantidurga who concentrated his attention in Central India

1 *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 204.

2 A. S. Altekar, 'The History of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas' in *The Early History of the Deccan*, ed. G. Yazdani, Part V, p. 254.

3 *Kāñcīpuram In Early South Indian History*, pp. 159-62.

exactly during this period before he overcame Kirtivarman II. His Samangad plates clearly state that his elephants tore up the banks of the rivers Māhī, Mahānadi, and the Revā. They also give a clue to the possible Pallava assistance in the campaigns. Besides, the Śabara chiefs and the rulers of the Nala dynasty were found to be the subordinates of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in the subsequent periods. Hence it is possible that Udayacandra fought a few battles around the Vindhyan region in co-operation with Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dantidurga in the latter's campaign to strengthen his position, probably deputed by the Pallava king. These achievements, though not meant for the Pallavas, came to be highlighted in a Pallava epigraph. Perhaps the *praśasti* composer would have attempted to justify the felicitation offered to the Pallava general by narrating all that he did for the good of his master.¹

The *praśasti* in the Udayendiram plates also states that Udayacandra annexed the territory of the Viṣṇurāja to the Pallava kingdom. This Viṣṇurāja, as said earlier, may be identified with the Eastern Chālukya king Viṣṇuvardhana III. It has been mentioned above that in the Mallam inscription of Nandivarman II, dated in his fifteenth year, one Caḷukki Araṣar figures as the *āṇatti* of a grant made by the Pallava king. These two pieces of evidence can safely be clubbed together from which it will be clear that Udayacandra annexed some territory in the north to the kingdom sometime before A. D. 746 even amidst his heavy involvement in several battle fronts.

Udayacandra's deputation to the Vindhyan region to assist Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dantidurga and his involvement in the Eastern Cālukya kingdom would have naturally given scope and courage to the rival contestant Citramāya *alias* Skandaśiṣya to renew his attempt to defeat Nandivarman II with fresh vigour. He was able to make some progress in his attempt to overthrow Nandivarman II, as it is clear that he besieged Nandivarman II after making him take refuge in a fort at Nandipura. The Udayendiram plates state that 'when he (Udayacandra) perceived that Pallavamalla was besieged in Nandipura by the *Draṇiṭa*

1 Discussed in the paper 'The Rise of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kingdom and Pallava Nandivarman II' read at the seminar on the Rāṣṭrakūṭas organised by the Mythic Society, Bangalore, in January, 1977 (unpublished).

princes, unable to bear this, like the visible death of the crowd of the enemies of Pallavamalla, slew with (his) sharp sword which glittered like the petal of a water lily the Pallava king Citramāya and others’.

Nandipura is usually identified with Nathankoil near Kumbhakonam, Thanjavur District, which place was modelled or founded by Nandivarman II, as gleaned from a hymn of the contemporary Vaiṣṇava saint Tirumaṅgai Ālvār. The *Draṁiṭa* princes were probably some minor chieftains who had Pallava blood in them. It cannot be said definitely whether the Pāṇḍyas of Madurai had any share in the siege of Pallavamalla in Nandipura. But a study of contemporary epigraphs shows that the relations between Pallavamalla and the contemporary Pāṇḍya rulers Māravarman Rājasimha and Jaṭila Parāntaka *alias* Varaguṇa I were strained perhaps throughout the reign of the first. Hence it is not improbable that in the Nandipura episode the Pāṇḍyas might have also given some help to the *Draṁiṭa* princes headed by Citramāya.

When Nandivarman II was entrapped at Nandipura, Udayacandra immediately rushed to the place, repelled the enemies, beheaded Citramāya and others in the battle-field, liberated Pallavamalla and bestowed the whole kingdom on his young lord. The emphatic expression *sakalam eva rājya prāyaccat** would make it clear that the beheading of Citramāya and others in the Nandipura battle turned the episode into an epilogue to the prolonged struggle that existed for many years among Nandivarman II on one hand and the *Draṁiṭa* princes headed by Citramāya *alias* Skandaśiṣya on the other.

Udayacandra is also credited with the destruction and capture of Kālidurgā which may be identified with the Kunreyal mentioned in a hymn of the Tirumaṅgai Ālvār. This engagement and the other one at the village of Maṇṇaikkudi might have been against the Pāṇḍyas. The village Maṇṇaikkudi may be identified with its namesake either in the Arantangi taluk or in the Mayuram taluk of the Thanjavur District.

Thus the achievements of Udayacandra discussed above make it clear that he would have played an important role during the troublesome period of the early years of the reign of the Pallava king

* [Read.—‘*prayacchat*’.—Ed.]

Nandivarman II. Even though he belonged to a family of alien race and culture, the valuable services he rendered to his ward-master are worth anything. He was the steering force in the Pallava kingdom from c. A. D. 731 to 752 (if not still later) with a young boy on the throne who was chosen king by virtue of his pure descent, when the kingdom was open to all invasions. When the Cālukyas succumbed to the ambitions of their subordinates, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, the Pallavas were able to keep intact their territory and power, though there were internal dissensions and external interferences and aggressions, thanks to Udayacandra the loyal, devoted and faithful general of the Pallavas. Fittingly he was felicitated by his grateful master by granting a village named Udayacandra-maṅgalam on the banks of the river Palaru to 108 Brahmanas. This devoted servant of the Pallavas was made the lord of Vilvalapura, a place not far off from the Pallava capital Kāñcīpuram. The members of his family also continued to serve Pallavamalla and his descendants, as is evident from the Pullur plates¹ which mention that the grant of the village was made at the request of Avanicandra, the *Yuvarāja* of Vilvalapura and evidently the son of Udayacandra. He continued to serve under Dantivarman, son of Nandivarman II.

The history of the *Pu-ca* family which rendered hereditary service to the Pallavas has been recorded in golden letters in South Indian history by Udayacandra. He was a Śaiva as the invocatory verse in the Udayendiram charter clearly states 'I bow my head devotedly to Sadāśiva...who has conferred splendour on Udayacandra', though his master was a Vaiṣṇava. This affords one more example from South India of the Indianisation of the people of alien culture and the religious freedom and tolerance that existed in the country.

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 143-62.

GUNARATNA SŪRI AS A COMMENTATOR OF ŚAŚADHARA

BIMAL KRISHNA MATILAL

ONE OF THE IMPORTANT TRAITS of the Jaina authors is that they have produced excellent commentaries on standard texts not only of their school but also of their rival schools. Thus, it was with great interest that I examined an unpublished manuscript of a commentary on Śaśadhara's *Nyāyasiddhāntadīpa*, which I came across in the manuscript library of the L. D. Institute of Indology at Ahmedabad. This commentary was from the pen of one Guṇaratna Sūri, a Jaina author. Unfortunately, this Guṇaratna did not comment on the entire text of Śaśadhara. Only four chapters from the latter half of Śaśadhara's book have been commented upon : Vidhivāda, Apūrvavāda, Anyathākhyātivāda and Arthāpattivāda. The commentary is written in a lucid style with occasional use of some un-Pāṇinian forms. Unlike the Navya-nyāya commentators of Bengal and Mithila, this commentator did not introduce technicalities and difficulties in the textual explanation. It was a pleasant surprise for me to see a commentary on a presumably very important Navya-nyāya text, which is not interspersed with a lot of 'kecit tu' and 'yat tu' kalpas.

As I started editing the text and the commentary for publication,¹ the question naturally arose as to the identity of this Guṇaratna. M. D. Desai in his *A Concise History of Jaina Literature* (in Gujarati)² mentions three following Guṇaratnas, all of whom were Jaina ācāryas (teachers).

1) One Guṇaratna belonged to the Kharataragacchā group of the Śvetāmbara sect. He was a pupil of Sādhunandana and flourished in Vikrama Samvat 1501 (i. e., 1445 A. D.). He wrote a commentary on a text called *Ṣaṣṭisataka*.

2) The second Guṇaratna belonged to the Āgamagacchīya group. His tea-

1 A critical edition by the present author of Śaśadhara's *Nyāyasiddhāntadīpa* along with the commentary of Guṇaratna has been published in the Indological Studies series of the L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad.

2 Published by Jaina Svetambara Conference, Bombay, 1933.

cher's name has not been given by Desai. His pupil was Devaratna who wrote a book in 1513 A. D. Thus, this Guṇaratna may belong to 1500 A.D.

3) The third Guṇaratna was a pupil of Devasūndara Sūri of the Tapāgacchā group. He was the famous author of *Kriyāratnasamuccaya*,¹ a text on grammar. This text was written in Vikrama Saṁvat 1468 (1412 A. D.). The same Guṇaratna is also well-known as the author of the *Ṣaḍdarśanasamuccayaṭīkā*,² an elaborate commentary on Haribhadra's *Ṣaḍdarśanasamuccaya*.

The biography of the third Guṇaratna can be found in the poem called *Gurvāvalī* by Munisundara Sūri. The *Gurvāvalī* was published in 1905 at Benares in the Sri Jaina Yasovijaya Granthamala. Munisundara Sūri, author of the *Gurvāvalī*, was a contemporary of the third Guṇaratna. The account of Guṇaratna's life and works starts from page 86 and continues upto page 89 in the printed edition of the *Gurvāvalī*. The colophon of the text reads :

Śrī-bṛhat-Tapāgaccha-śrī-Gurvāvalī bṛhatī Śrī-Munisundara-sūri-kṛtā.

I quote below the following verses which will be relevant to our purpose :

*Sarva-vyākaraṇ-āvadāta-hṛdayāḥ sāhitya-saty-āsavo
gambhīr-āgama-dugdha-sindhu-laharī-pān-aika-prīṭ-ābdhayaḥ |
jyāyo-jyotiṣa-nistuṣāḥ pradadhataḥ = tarkeṣu cār-āryakam
vāde te = 'tra jayanty = aśeṣa-viduṣāṁs = traividya-darp-oṣmakān ||83
Cakruṣ = ṭīkā-śalākām te Ṣaḍdarśanasamuccayo* |
jñāna-netr-āñjanāy = eva satām tattv-ārtha-darśinīm ||88
Uddhṛtya ye vyākaraṇ = āmbu-vāsino**
vilobhya buddhi-prasar-āmar-ādṛitāḥ*** |
buddha-Kriyāratnasamuccayaṁ satām
āścarya-bhūtaṁ vibudh-ālaye daduḥ ||89*

In the above verses, it is significant that Munisundara not only mentioned the two important works of Guṇaratna but also referred to

1 Sri Jaina Yasovijaya Granthamala, Varanasi, 1907.

2 Ed. M. Jain, Bharatiya Jnanapith, Varanasi, 1969.

* [Read.-'Ṣaḍdarśanasamuccaye'.—Ed.]

** [Better read.-'āmbu-rāśino'.—Ed.]

***[Better read.-'vilobhya buddhiṁ prasar-āmar-ādṛitām.—Ed.]

his vast learning and great skill in Tarkaśāstra (logic, Navya-nyāya). It is also said that he was an expert in the art of philosophic debate (cf. *vāde te 'tra jayanti*), and overcame the pride of many orthodox (Vedic) logicians.

I suggest here that our Guṇaratna, who commented upon the four chapters of *Nyāyasiddhāntadīpa* of Śaśadhara, was probably identical with this third Guṇaratna. It is doubtful whether the other two Guṇaratnas studied any logic or Tarkaśāstra. No evidence has so far been found. Thus, I presume it would be impossible for them to write a learned commentary on such a difficult text as the *Nyāyasiddhāntadīpa*.

Apart from the above account of *Gurvāvalī*, I think there is further evidence to support my conjecture. Bhaṭṭa Vādīndra was undoubtedly an author who flourished in the early period of Navya-nyāya. He wrote his famous *Mahāvidyāviḍambana*, which was a classic refutation of the so-called *Mahāvidyā* syllogism formulated by Vedāntins like Kulārkaṇḍita. That Vādīndra and Maṇikaṇṭha (a reputed Navya-naiyāyika as well as one of the authorities used by Gaṅgeśa) were very close to each other in time can be proved by the fact that the latter devoted the last chapter of his *Nyāyaratna* to the discussion and refutation of the *Mahāvidyā* syllogism. No further mention of *Mahāvidyā* is found in any Navya-nyāya text after Maṇikaṇṭha. Vādīndra belonged to South India and could be placed between 1210 A. D. and 1247 A. D. He also mentioned that certain *Tārkikas* (logicians) like Śivāditya Miśra wanted to establish the validity of *Mahāvidyā* inference. It was Bhuvanasundara, a Jaina scholar, who wrote an excellent commentary on Bhaṭṭa Vādīndra's *Mahāvidyāviḍambana*, called *Mahāvidyāviḍambanaṭīkā*. This commentary has been printed along with Vādīndra's text in the Gaekwad Oriental Series. Bhuvanasundara was a pupil of our third Guṇaratna, and he referred to his teacher respectfully in the opening verse of his commentary as follows :

*Tark-ādi-grantha-viśaye yat = kiñcij = jñāyate mayā/
tatra Śrī-Guṇaratn-āhva-gurūṇāṃ vāg-vijṇmbhitam||¹*

(‘The little that I know about the texts on Tarka, etc. is simply the verbal explanation of my teacher Śrī Guṇaratna’.)

The commentary of Bhuvanasundara is an excellent example of

1 See the opening verses of the *Mahāvidyāviḍambanaṭīkā*.

his deep knowledge and understanding of the Navya-Nyāya techniques and methodology. Now the pupil says that he learnt Navya-nyāya from his teacher Guṇaratna. Thus, we have an additional evidence that our third Guṇaratna was an expert on Navya-nyāya. And this certainly increases the probability of his having written an independent commentary on such a Navya-nyāya text as the *Nyāyasiddhāntadīpa*.

Guṇaratna in his *Ṣaḍdarśanasamuccayaṭīkā* supplied two separate lists of older Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika authors. It is significant that he mentioned neither Śaśadhara nor Gaṅgeśa¹ in these lists. The latest important author he mentioned was Śrī Vallabhācārya who wrote the *Nyāyalīlāvatī*.² Guṇaratna is usually placed in 1411 A. D. Thus it seems that Gaṅgeśa's fame as a Nyāya author did not extend beyond Mithila and Bengal in 1411 A. D. My conjecture is that after Guṇaratna finished his commentary on Haribhadra's *Ṣaḍdarśanasamuccaya*, he studied Navya-nyāya authors like Śaśadhara. And finally he wrote a commentary on the *Nyāyasiddhāntadīpa*. This shows that Śaśadhara's work was just beginning to become popular in Western India. The question naturally arises : why did Guṇaratna chose only four chapters of Śaśadhara to write his commentary upon ? The probable answer is that Guṇaratna began writing this commentary when he was considerably old and that is why he chose only those portions which he considered important.³

There was, however, a fourth Guṇaratna, who was also an expert on Navya-nyāya. No account of this fourth Guṇaratna is found in M. D. Desai's work, cited above. This fourth Guṇaratna wrote, in fact, an excellent and very elaborate sub-commentary called *Tarkataraṅginī* on Govardhana's *Tarkaprakāśikā*, which is itself a commentary on Keśava Miśra's *Tarkabhāṣā*. The text of the *Tarkataraṅginī* has not yet been published. I had the privilege of examining this

1 Author of *Tattvacintāmaṇi* (*Anumāna-khaṇḍa*, ed. B. Bhattacharyya and others, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Benares, 1923-27; *Pratyakṣa-khaṇḍa*, ed. K. Tarkavagisa, The Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1884-1901).

2 Ed. D. Sastri and others, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Benares, 1927-32.

3 This is a tentative comment. If a manuscript containing Guṇaratna's commentary on the remaining chapters of Śaśadhara is found in the course of future research, this view would have to be revised.

manuscript at the L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad. Dr. V. G. Parik wrote his Ph. D. dissertation under the late Professor J. S. Jetly and edited the text of *Tarkataraṅginī* as part of his thesis. Professor Jetly in his Introduction to this dissertation placed this fourth Guṇaratna in the 17th century A. D.

The *Tarkataraṅginī* abounds in references to almost all important post-Gaṅgeśa Navya-nyāya authors such as Jayadeva Pakṣadhara, Raghunātha, Bhavānanda, Haridāsa, Kṛṣṇadāsa and Yajñapati. Gaṅgeśa is often at the centre of attraction for the author of the *Tarkataraṅginī*. But I have been unable to locate a single reference to either Śaśadhara or the *Nyāyasiddhāntadīpa*. Thus, I think our Guṇaratna, commentator of the *Nyāyasiddhāntadīpa*, cannot be identical with this Guṇaratna of the 17th century. It is significant that the commentary on the *Nyāya-siddhāntadīpa* does not contain a single reference to any post-Gaṅgeśa Navya-nyāya authors. Even Gaṅgeśa is never mentioned by name in this commentary. The only other Navya-nyāya author, besides Udayana, mentioned in this commentary of the *Nyāyasiddhāntadīpa*, was Sundala (or Sondaḍa) Upādhyāya. Sundala was an important pre-Gaṅgeśa author, and Gaṅgeśa himself contested his views in the *Tattvacintāmaṇi*. Besides all these I have examined myself the Anyathākhyātivāda section of the *Tarkataraṅginī* along with the present commentary on the Anyathākhyātivāda chapter in Śaśadhara. From a comparative study, I am forced to conclude that these two commentaries on the identical topic could not have been written by the same author. They do not agree with each other in any significant respect. Thus, I submit that this Guṇaratna of the 17th century A. D. was a different person, and that our Guṇaratna, commentator of the *Nyāyasiddhāntadīpa*, could reasonably be identified with the author of the *Ṣaḍdarśanasamuccayaṭīkā*. This commentary was probably the last work of our author, and that is why it was left unfinished.

A few words about the language of Guṇaratna's commentary may be in order. I have located some un-Pāṇinian forms such as *ānayitvā* and *parityaktvā*. Whether these should be explained as scribal errors or as peculiarities of the Jain Sanskrit, I cannot tell.¹ On some

1 It is by now well-known that Jain Sanskrit has some peculiarities although they

occasions, the scribe did not apply the obligatory *sandhi* rules within some long compounds in order, perhaps, to render the meaning of the compound clear. Thus, we find such expressions as *graha-agraha*....

Guṇaratna was also aware of the *saṃgati* problem that was usually discussed by all post-Gaṅgeśa Navya-nyāya commentators. *Saṃgati* is the 'relevance' of one part of the text with the other. It is usually seen as the relational tie that is supposed to exist between two distinct but consecutive chapters of a book. The idea behind *saṃgati* is that a book is supposed to be an *organic* whole where different chapters and sections must be related to one another. Thus, in the beginning of the commentary on the Arthāpatti chapter, Guṇaratna points out that there is either *upodghāta saṃgati* or *prasaṅga saṃgati* (or, perhaps, both) between the preceding Anyathākhyāti chapter and the Arthāpatti chapter.

are not as varied and great as those in Buddhist Sanskrit. For preliminary reference, one can see M. Bloomfield's 'Some Aspects of Jaina Sanskrit' (*Festschrift Jacob Wackernagel*, Göttingen, pp. 220-30).

A UNIQUE COIN OF THE VIṢṆUKUṆḌINS

V. V. MIRASHI

AS FAR BACK AS 1945 I showed for the first time from the *Viśrutacarita* included in the *Daśakumāracarita* of Daṇḍin that there was a revolution in Vidarbha during the reign of the son of Hariṣeṇa, the last known king of the Vatsagulma branch of the Vākāṭaka family, which eventually led to the establishment of Viṣṇukuṇḍin power in Vidarbha.¹ Since then my conjecture has been corroborated by the discovery of archaeological and numismatic evidence. We now know that the Viṣṇukuṇḍins extended their power not only to Vidarbha but also to Western Maharashtra. I have myself published a fragmentary copper-plate grant of Viṣṇukuṇḍin Mādhavavarman I discovered at Khanapur in the Satara District.² The places mentioned in it can be definitely identified in that region. Viṣṇukuṇḍin coins have been discovered in the excavations carried on at Nevasa in the Nasik District.³ Stray Viṣṇukuṇḍin coins have come to notice in the Bhandara and Nagpur districts.⁴ Nay, a large hoard of Viṣṇukuṇḍin coins was found during excavations at Pavnar, ancient Pravarapura, the capital of the Elder Branch of the Vākāṭaka dynasty.⁵ A unique coin of the family discovered at Pavnar is described in the present article.

Like several coins of many South Indian dynasties, the coins of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins generally have no legend. They are conjecturally ascribed to the Viṣṇukuṇḍins on the evidence of their find-spots in Andhra Pradesh.⁶ But in the absence of a legend they cannot be identified as

1 Mirashi, *Studies in Indology*, Vol. I, 2nd. Ed., pp. 182 f.; *Corps. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. xxxiii.

2 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 327 f.

3 Sankalia, *From History to Pre-history at Nevasa*, p. 199. The coins were then ascribed to the Pallavas.

4 *Journ. Num. Soc. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 241, notes 1 to 4.

5 *Pavnar Excavations*, pp. 13 and 14.

6 Large hoards of these coins were found in the Nalagonda and Karimnagar districts of Andhra Pradesh. They were imitated by the Eastern Cālukyas in their coins

issues of any particular king of that family. Several such legendless coins of the Viṣṇukunḍins have been published so far.¹ The importance of the present coin lies in this that it has a decipherable legend.

The present coin is from a hoard of coins discovered by Mr. Deshmukh at Pavnar. It was given to me for decipherment by Dr. Ajay Mitra Shastri of the Nagpur University, who told me that the legend on it could not be deciphered by the numismatists assembled at the previous session of the Numismatic Society of India. This evoked my interest and I studied it with some care. I am stating here my reading and interpretation of its legend for the consideration of scholars.

Viṣṇukunḍin coins have generally the figure of a bull or a lion with the *svastika* or some other figure on the obverse. The present coin has a well executed figure of a humped bull with a *svastika* in front. On their reverse, the Viṣṇukunḍin coins have generally the figure of a vase on a stand of two horizontal lines cut in the middle by a vertical line, with the figure of a *triśūla* on either side. The present coin has a spheroid in place of a vase, flanked by a *triśūla* on either side cut by three horizontal lines. The general resemblance of the obverse and reverse of the present coin to those of the Viṣṇukunḍins leaves no doubt that it is a coin of the same royal family.

Unlike other coins of the Viṣṇukunḍins, the present coin has a legend written horizontally above the back of the bull. I read it as *Śrī-bhadram*. All the letters are clear except the third which is slightly deformed probably by the slipping of the engraver's tool. The characters of the legend are of the fourth-fifth century A. D.

No king of the name Śrī-Bhadra is noticed in the genealogy of the Viṣṇukunḍins, or for that matter in any other Southern dynasty. What then does this legend indicate? I think it points to the deity at Bhadrachalam, a well-known place of pilgrimage on the bank of the Godavari, 104 miles from Rajamundry. There is a complex of temples at the place. The main temple is very high and is surrounded by twenty-four smaller shrines. Tradition says that Rāma crossed the Godāvari at this place. The place derives its name from that of

thereafter. So these coins are ascribed to the Viṣṇukunḍins, who preceded the Eastern Cālukyas in that region. See M. Rama Rao, *Viṣṇukunḍin Coins*, pp. 33 f.

1 *Loc. cit.*

ĀCĀRYA-VANDANĀ : D. R. BHANDARKAR BIRTH CENTENARY VOLUME

A Unique Coin of the Viṣṇukūṇḍins



Obverse



Reverse

the sage Bhadra who was practising penance there at the time. The Viṣṇukuṇḍins appear to have issued this and similar coins in the name of the god Bhadra of this place. An analogous instance is furnished by the copper-plate grants of the Kings of Vijayanagara. They signed them as *Virūpākṣa*, the god Śiva of the neighbouring place Hampi.

We must here consider a possible objection to this interpretation. Śrī-Bhadrācalam is the name of god Rāmacandra to whom the main temple at the place is dedicated. The Viṣṇukuṇḍins are, however, known to have been devotees of Śiva. They name their tutelary deity as Śrīparvata-svāmin in their grants. This is generally supposed to refer to the god Śrīparvata or Śrīśaila. How is it that the Śaiva Viṣṇukuṇḍins issued coins in the name of Śrī-Bhadra (Viṣṇu) ? This objection can be easily answered. Ancient Indian kings were not bigoted sectarians. They revered gods of all sects whether they themselves were devoted worshippers of Śiva or Viṣṇu. The Viṣṇukuṇḍins are known to have made land-grants to the Buddhist *vihāras* also in their kingdom.⁸ Their reverence for Viṣṇu is indicated by such names as Govindavarman and Mādhavavarman in their genealogy. As shown before, the present coin generally resembles Viṣṇukuṇḍin coins with only this difference that the figure on its reverse is that of a spheroid instead of a flattened vase.

The foregoing discussion shows that the present coin is probably of a Viṣṇukuṇḍin king who issued it in the name of the god at Bhadrachalam.

8 Mirashi, *Literary and Historical Studies in Indology*, pp. 131 f.

A NOTE ON TWO LIHINIMALAI RECORDS OF KANITTHA TISSA, THE KING OF LAṆKĀ

BY

B. N. MUKHERJEE

Two stone inscriptions from Lihinimalai (Sri Lanka) contain some interesting pieces of information, which form the subject of our study in this paper.¹ Both the epigraphs refer to certain acts of merit performed by *Mahārāja Maḷa Tisa*.² He can be easily identified with Kaniṭṭha Tissa (or Tissaka), who ruled Laṅkā, i. e. modern Sri Lanka, from c. A. D. 227 to 245.³

One of these two inscriptions records *inter alia* that *Mahārāja Maḷa Tisa* founded a new village (or a village called Navagāma) (and) gave (its) water-revenue, after having remitted (the taxes), to the *Bota-geha* (i. e. Bodhi-gṛha or Bodhi-shrine) of the *Si-pavata-vehera* (i. e. Śrī-parvata-vihāra).⁴ The other epigraph states *inter alia* that the same ruler granted two categories of revenue receivable from three tracts of land to the great refectory belonging to the community of monks of *Si-pavata-vihara* (i. e. Śrī-parvata-vihāra).⁵

It appears that king Maḷa Tisa or Kaniṭṭha Tissa performed some

1 S. Karunaratna has given full reading of each of these two epigraphs in his paper 'Sri-Lankan Epigraphy : Its Bearing on Art History', presented at a seminar on 'Bearing of Epigraphy on Art' held in Varanasi in 1979. It will be published in the proceedings of the seminar, now in press.

2 See above, note 1.

3 *Ibid.* ; W. Geiger, *The Mahāvamsa* (Reprint, 1950), XXXVI. 6 ; *ibid.*, pp. 257 and xxxviii ; W. Geiger, *Calavaṃsa*, Pt. II (1953), p. x. According to the *Mahāvamsa*, the *Dīpavamsa* and the *Rājāvalīya*, Kaniṭṭhatissaka (or Kaniṭṭha Tissaka or Kaniṭṭha Tissa) reigned for eighteen years. The commencement of his first regnal year has been variously placed by scholars in A. D. 223, 226, 227, etc.

4 *Maḷa-Tisa Maharajī.....(na)va(gā)ma Koṭudaka-patiya kara kaḍaya Si-pavata-veherahi Bota-gehi dīni* (see above, note 1).

5 *Tiṇi tanahi do-potiya kara dadaya dīni si-pavata-viharahi mahapaka-vaṭahi dīni*(see above, note 1.)

acts of merit in favour of a *vihāra* (monastery) called *Si-pavata vihāra* (i. e. *Śrī-parvata-vihāra*). The monastery was christened either after a person or, as the literal meaning of its name suggests, after a mountain (or mountaneous tract) called *Śrī-parvata*. This could have been the name of the mountain or mountaneous region, on which or where the convent was situated. It was also possible that the establishment was meant for the use of monks hailing from an area known as *Śrīparvata* or belonging to a sect called after that hilly zone.

These alternative possibilities induce us to search for the name *Śrīparvata* in sources which can be placed in or about the period of Kaniṭṭha Tissaka (c. A. D. 227-45). The name can indeed be found in a number of Nagarjunakonda inscriptions of the Ikṣvākus, who ruled in Eastern Deccan in the 3rd century A. D.¹ Two of these records contain the name in the expression *Siripavate Vijayapurīya puva-diśā-bhāge vihāre Cula-Dhammagiriyam cetiya-gharam*.² The *caitya*-shrine may be considered to have been situated on the (hill called) Cula Dhammagiri (or Small Dhamma Hill) in (the chain of mountains called) Siripavata (or Beautiful Mountain) in the eastern side of Vijayapura. The expression concerned may also be taken to mean that the *caitya*-shrine was located on the small (*cula*-)Dhammagiri in the eastern side of Vijayapura on the Siripavata. The second interpretation is supported by such phrases as *Siripavate Vijayapure*,³ and *Śrī (parvate) (Vijaya)pū(pu)ryyām*,⁴ occurring in a few Nagarjunakonda inscriptions 'where the absence of the clause *puva diśā bhāge* should indicate that Siripavata was not situated in the eastern side of Vijayapura, and that the latter was situated on the Siripavata' (i. e. in a mountaneous tract called *Śrīparvata*).

It is well-known that Vijayapura, the capital or one of the chief cities of the Ikṣvākus, was in the Nagarjunakonda valley (now

1 *A Comprehensive History of India*, ed. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Vol. II (*The Mauryas and Sātavāhanas*, 325 B. C.—A. D. 300), pp. 333-35.

2 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, p. 22 ; Vol. XXXIV, p. 209.

3 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 8-9 and 12.

4 R. Mukherjee, *The History of the Andhra Region : c. A. D. 75-350* (thesis approved for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy by the University of London in 1965), Chapter II, p. 47.

submerged under water) in the Guntur District of Andhra Pradesh.¹ The city could be considered to be situated on the Siripavata or Śrīparvata, if the latter was the same as the present Nallamalai mountain chain running on almost three sides of the erstwhile valley. It appears that the Ikṣvākus had their capital in a mountaneous or hill-girt territory known after the general appellation of the relevant mountain chain.

The Ikṣvākus rose in Eastern Deccan after the fall of the Sātavāhana empire in about the second quarter of the 3rd century A. D.² They had their stronghold (or at least one of their strongholds) in the Śrīparvata area. Hence they can be easily identified with the Śrīparvatīya Āndhras (i. e. the people of the Andhra country, who belonged to the Śrīparvata area), included by the Purāṇas in the list of the successors of the Andhras (or the Sātavāhans) in their dominions.³

Śrīparvata was thus the name of an important area in India in a period when Kaniṭṭha Tissa (c. A. D. 227-45) ruled in Laṅkā. Available data suggest contact between Sri-Lanka and the Nagarjunakonda area (Andhra Pradesh) in the 3rd century A. D. ⁴ A Nagarjunakonda inscription of the regnal year 14 of the Ikṣvāku king Vīrapuruṣadatta records *inter alia* donations 'for the well acceptance' of the Theravādin teachers of Tāmbapaṇṇa⁵ (i. e. Tāmraparṇi or Sri-Lanka), who were also given the credit of causing *pasāda* (meaning 'delight', 'happiness', 'conversion', etc.) to people of several regions

1 R. Mukherjee, *op. cit.*, p. 53 ; *A Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. II, p. 333.

2 D. C. Sircar, *The Successors of the Sātavāhanas in the Lower Deccan*, pp. 9f. ; *A Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. II, p. 333.

3 F. E. Pargiter, *The Purāṇa Texts of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, pp. 45-46.

4 The inner plan of several *stūpas* of the Ikṣvāku period in the Guntur District area has similarity with that of the Mahā-thupa, Dakkhina-thupa, Pubbārāma-thupa, etc., at Anuradhapura in Sri-Lanka (S. Paranavitana, *The Stūpa in Ceylon*, p. 26 ; A. Longhurst, *The Buddhist Antiquities of Nagarjunakonda*, Pl. XI, No. b and pp. 12, 16). Semicircular "moon stone", noticeable in front of *Cetiya-gharas* or *caitya*-shrines at Nagarjunakonda, is found also in some Sri-Lankan buildings (A. H. Longhurst, *op. cit.*, p. 8 and Pl. Va.). These and several other data allude to contact between Andhra and Sri-Lanka.

5 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, p. 22.

including Kāśmīra, Gandhāra, Yavana, Damila (i.e. Draviḍa), Vanavāsi (Banabasi in Karnataka), and Palura (Dantapura, probably to be located in the Ganjam District).¹ Apparently Theravādin teachers from Sri-Lanka resided in the Nagarjunakonda area. In fact, the same inscription also speaks of an act of merit in Sīhala-vihāra,² situated apparently in the locality of its discovery. The monastery was constructed apparently for accommodating monks hailing from Sīhala (or Simhala, i.e. Sri-Lanka).

Thus religious teachers of Theravāda Buddhism from Sri-Lanka were active in the Ikṣvāku territory in the 3rd century A. D. They had their own monastery in the Nagarjunakonda area, then included in the region called after the Śrīparvata. They might have enjoyed the support of the royal Ikṣvāku family, since epigraphic data allude to such patronage of Buddhism in the Ikṣvāku territory.³

These data enhance the possibility of finding in the appellation *Si-pavata-vihara* in the Lihinimalai inscription a reference to the name *Siripavata* (or Śrīparvata) referred to in the Nagarjunakonda epigraphs. As noted above, there were religious contacts between Laṅkā and the Nagarjunakonda area (included in the territory named after the Śrīparvata) in the 3rd century A. D.

There was also in the latter territory and in the same period a monastery named Sīhala-vihāra, apparently meant for the use of monks from Laṅkā. Some of them could have resided in another monastery in the same locality.⁴ Hence in contemporary Laṅkā there could well

1 *Ibid.* In another Nagarjunakonda inscription the credit of causing *pasāda* to the peoples of Kāśmīra, Gandhāra, Yavana, Vanavāsa and Tāmbapaṇṇi-dīpa (Tāmbapaṇṇi-dvīpa, i. e. Sri-Lanka) is given to 'the followers of Theravāda, who are adhered to the Vibhājjavāda doctrine' (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 248). They can be identified with the Theravādi teachers from Sri-Lanka. The inscription referred to here records the installation of 'a pair of feet' (carved out of stone) of the Buddha in a monastery where these teachers (i. e. some of the teachers from Sri-Lanka) resided (*loc. cit.*). (For a different Ceylonese version of the story of conversion of different areas including Kāśmīra, Gandhāra, Yonaka, and Vanavāsi see the *Sāsanavamsa*, IV, V and VII).

Ibid., Vol. XX, p. 22 ; see also Vol. XXXIII, p. 248.

Ibid., Vol. XX, pp. 16, 19, 21, 24, etc. ; Vol. XXI, p. 62, etc.

4 This convent is referred to in the inscription discussed above in note 1.

have been a monastery for accommodating monks hailing from the Śrīparvata area. This monastery, as the Lihinimalai records show, enjoyed royal patronage.¹

The Lihinimalai inscriptions of Kaniṭṭha Tissa assume great significance in the light of above interpretation. They seem to throw light on cultural contacts between Sri-Lanka and a part of India in the 3rd century A. D.²

- 1 For an account of Kaniṭṭha Tissa's patronage of Buddhism, see W. Geiger, *The Mahāvamsa* (Reprint, 1950), pp. 256-57.
- 2 The Sri-Lankan or Ceylonese authors' knowledge of the Andhra region in c. 3rd century A. D. is suggested by *inter alia* a reference to Amdha country in the *Sihalavatthuppakaraṇa* (edited by A. P. Buddhadatta, pp. 151-52), datable to about the second half of the 3rd century A. D. or to the first half of the 4th century A. D. The latest Sri-Lankan kings mentioned by it is Mahāsena.

AS'OKAN SILĀ-THAM̐BHAS AND DHAM̐MA-THAM̐BHAS

K. R. NORMAN

A. Introduction

1. IN HIS GAEKWAD LECTURES ON Aśoka, first published more than 50 years ago, R. K. Mookerji commented¹ that all the ten pillars ascribed to Aśoka on the grounds that they bore his inscriptions could not be ascribed *en bloc* to him. In his view, Aśoka's own words forbade that inference, and he quoted from Minor Rock Edict I, the statement that the edict was to be 'engraved upon stone pillars wherever there are stone pillars in my dominions', and from Pillar Edict VII the sentence : 'This scripture of the Law, wheresoever pillars of stone or tables of stone exist, must there be recorded so that it may be everlasting'.

2. He continued² : 'One of the most refreshing features of Asoka's³ character is his scrupulous truthfulness in carefully distinguishing the achievements of his predecessors from those of his own. Thus he does not claim that all the pillars to bear his inscription were his own creation. Some of them were already found in his dominion, presumably the work of his predecessors'. He noted⁴ : 'The question of the existence of pre-Aśokan Pillars has not received attention'.

3. J. C. Irwin, Keeper of the Oriental Section of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, has lately turned his attention to this problem, and in a series of lectures and articles⁵ has given his reasons for coming, like Mookerji to the conclusion that some of the pillars which bear Aśokan inscriptions are indeed pre-Aśokan. Mr. Irwin's course of lectures, when repeated in India, aroused wide interest, and in a review of them

1 Radha Kumud Mookerji, *Asoka (Gaekwad Lectures)*, London, 1928, p. 87.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 87.

3 Mookerji's spelling. I prefer Aśoka.

4 Mookerji, *op. cit.*, p. 87, note 1.

5 *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. CXV, pp. 706-20 ; Vol. CXVI, pp. 712-27 ; Vol. CXVII, pp. 631-43.

Niharranjan Ray pointed out¹ that he had long thought that some pillars were pre-Aśokan, but for reasons other than those given by Irwin.

4. Others, however, have rejected Irwin's thesis in so far as it depends upon the actual words of Aśoka, and have denied that stone pillars existed before Aśoka's time. They have sought support for their view in the statement made by A. Ghosh when he was attempting to define the purpose of the Aśokan pillars² : 'To explain the imperial order [to engrave on pillars] and the uninscribed pillars it has sometimes been assumed³ that at least some pillars existed prior to Aśoka and he thought of utilizing them for engraving his edicts. This does not carry conviction, as in Pillar Edict VII Aśoka claims the erection of *dharma-stambhas*⁴ as his own innovation.'

5. I should like in this paper, offered in celebration of the centenary of the birth of D. R. Bhandarkar, whose contributions to Aśokan studies have been of immense benefit to all who work in that field, to consider the relevant passages in the Aśokan inscriptions to see whether they support Mookerji or Ghosh.

B. *Silā-thambha*-s : 'stone pillars'.

1. We can immediately dismiss from consideration those inscriptions which specifically state that Aśoka ordered a *silā-thambha* to be erected, i. e. the Rummindei pillar and (assuming that the restoration of the text⁵ is correct) the Nigali Sagar pillar.

2. Elsewhere the word is found in two Aśokan edicts only : the two versions of Minor Rock Edict I at Rupnath and Sahasram, and in Pillar Edict VII on the Delhi-Topra pillar. Hultzsch's reading of Rupnath (K)⁶ is : *hadha ca athi sālā-ṭh[abh]e silā-ṭha[m]bhasi lākhāpetavaya ta.*⁷ He translates : 'And (wherever) there are stone pillars here, it must be caused to be engraved on stone pillars'.⁸ His

1 *Hindustan Times*, 25th January, 1976.

2 A. Ghosh, 'The Pillars of Aśoka-Their Purpose', *East and West*, Vol. 17 (1967), p. 275.

3 He specifically mentions Mookerji (p. 275, note 4).

4 Ghosh's spelling. I prefer *dharma-thambha*.

5 E. Hultzsch, *Inscriptions of Asoka*, Oxford, 1925, p. 165, note 5.

6 I follow Hultzsch's division into sentences.

7 Hultzsch, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 169.

reading of Sahasram (M) is : *ya.[vā] ath[i] hetā silā-tham̐[bh]ā tata p [likhāpayatha t]i.*¹ He translates : 'And where there are stone pillars here (in my dominions), there also cause (it) to be engraved'.²

3. I have dealt elsewhere³ with some of the problems in this portion of the Rupnath and Sahasram edicts, and concluded that the correct translation of the Rupnath version is : 'If there is a stone pillar, it must be caused to be engraved on a stone pillar'. The translation of the Sahasram version should be : 'If there are stone pillars there, there also cause it to be engraved'.

4. Hultzsch's reading of Pillar Edict VII (SS) is : *iyam dham̐ma-libi ata athi silā-tham̐bhāni vā silā-phalakāni vā tata kaṭaviyā ena esa cila-ṭhitike siyā.*⁴ He translates : 'This rescript on morality must be engraved there, where either stone pillars or stone slabs are (available), in order that this may be of long duration'.⁵

5. It is noteworthy that in none of these three passages does Aśoka say anything at all about the pillars being his own pillars, and to that extent Mookerji's statement that 'Asoka does not claim that all the pillars to bear his inscriptions were his own creation' is correct. On the other hand, he says nothing at all about their being his predecessors' work either.

6. Pillar Edicts I-VI were inscribed at Aśoka's command when he had been consecrated 26 years, and Pillar Edict VII was inscribed when he had been consecrated 27 years. Since he refers to *dham̐ma-tham̐bhāni* in Pillar Edict VII (P) (see Section C. 1), it is probable that Bühler was correct in noting (ZDMG, Vol. 46, p. 90) that the statement in Pillar Edict VII (SS) is a reference to the pillars bearing the first six edicts.⁶

7. Minor Rock Edict I, however, was probably the first of Aśoka's series of edicts,⁷ and we know nothing about the erection

1 *Ibid.*, p. 170.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 171.

3 K. R. Norman, 'Middle Indo-Aryan Studies X', *Journal of the Oriental Institute* (Baroda), Vol. XXIII, pp. 69-70.

4 Hultzsch, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 137.

6 Quoted by Hultzsch (*ibid.*, p. 134, note 11).

7 I assume that Aśoka's conversion to Buddhism occurred after the war in Kalinga

of any pillars by Aśoka prior to that series. It is perhaps significant that in his instructions to the recipients of his edict at Rupnath and Sahasram Aśoka states : 'If there is/are stone pillar(s), inscribe it there', i. e. Aśoka was not certain that there were stone pillars in those two areas, which is rather strange if he had had pillars erected therein the ten or so years since his consecration. The absence of the phrase from the other twelve versions suggests, however, that it was not part of the edict, but merely formed part of the 'covering letter' giving instructions to the recipients about the publication of the edict. This suggests that a comparable phrase was included in all the copies of the edict, but was not intended for publication. Only the local administrators at Rupnath and Sahasram failed to realise this, and consequently included it in the inscription by error.

8. If this was the case, then it is not, perhaps, surprising that Aśoka was not certain whether there were stone pillars in each area to which copies of the edict were sent. On the other hand, since not one of the fourteen versions of Minor Rock Edict I at present known¹ is carved upon a pillar, Aśoka's ignorance about the whereabouts of the pillars, if they were erected by him, seems very remarkable. One thing is, however, certain. Stone pillars must have been in existence at the time when Aśoka sent out Minor Rock Edict I, and he must have seen them, or at least heard of them, or he would not have included the instruction to write upon pillars 'if there are pillars'.

9. If the suggestion that the reference to stone pillars was part of the 'covering letter' to the recipients, and not intended for publication, is correct, then it is possible that the same applies to the similar sentence at the end of Pillar Edict VII. This therefore opens up the possibility that a similar phrase was added to all edicts, and it was only at the three sites under discussion that the local administrators failed to realise that this portion of the document they received was not meant for publication. The same is probably true of the introduction

in his eighth year. There followed more than two and a half years when he was not very zealous, and then more than one year when he was zealous. When he issued Minor Rock Edict I he was therefore at a point just short of his twelfth year.
 1 See p. 318, note 1, below.

to the three versions of Minor Rock Edict I at Brahmagiri, Siddapura, and Jatinga-Ramesvara¹ (the last fragmentary, but probably identical with the other two).

C. *Dham̐ma-tham̐bha-s* : 'pillars of morality'.

1. The belief that Aśoka claimed responsibility for the innovation of erecting stone pillars rests upon a statement in Pillar Edict VII (P). Hultzsch's reading is : *etam eva me anuvekhamāne dham̐ma-tham̐bhāni kaṭāni dham̐ma-mahāmātā kaṭā dham̐ma-sāvane kaṭe*.² He translates : 'Having in view this very (matter), I have set up pillars of morality, appointed *Mahāmātras*³ of morality, (and) issued [proclamations] on morality'.⁴

2. From the point of view of strict accuracy it must be observed that *kaṭāni* does not mean 'erected'. In the inscriptions on the two pillars which we know were erected at Aśoka's command, he uses the word *usapāpīte*⁵ for 'erected'. We shall see later (Section C. 7) if the difference between *kaṭa* and *usapāpita* has any significance.

3. We see that, despite Ghosh's statement quoted above (Section A. 4), Aśoka does not claim to be an innovator in these three matters. The sentence says nothing more (translated literally) than : 'By me... *dham̐ma*-pillars were made, *dham̐ma*-ministers were made, *dham̐ma*-proclamation was made'. This statement, by itself, does not rule out the possibility that other kings had done the same thing before Aśoka.

4. Rock Edict V(H-I), however, makes it clear that Aśoka did regard himself as an innovator with regard to *dham̐ma-mahāmātta-s*. Hultzsch reads (in the Girnar version) : *atikātam āntaram na bhūta-pruṣam dham̐ma-mahāmātā nāma. ta m[a]yā traidasa-vāsābhī[s]i[tena] dham̐m[a]-mahāmātā katā*.⁶ He translates : 'In times past (officers) called *Mahāmātras* of morality did not exist before. But *Mahāmātras* of morality were appointed by me (when I had been) anointed thirteen years.'⁷ Even so, we must note that the innovation was to have

1 Hultzsch, *op. cit.*, pp. 176, 179-80.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 132, following his restoration (p. 132, note 5).

3 Hultzsch's spelling. I prefer *mahāmātta*.

4 Hultzsch, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

5 *Ibid.*, pp. 164, 165, following Bühler's restoration (p. 165, note 5).

6 *Ibid.*, p. 9.

7 *Ibid.*, p. 10.

ministers of morality. Aśoka was not claiming to have instituted the office of *mahāmāṭṭa* in his thirteenth year. In fact the Brahmagiri, Siddapura, and Jatinga-Ramesvara versions of Minor Rock Edict I, which is probably to be dated to Aśoka's eleventh year, are addressed to the *mahāmāṭṭa*-s at Isila on the instruction of the *ayyaṇṇaputta* and *mahāmāṭṭa*-s from Suvarṇagiri, ¹ showing clearly that Aśoka had secular *mahāmāṭṭa*-s before he appointed *dhamma-mahāmāṭṭa*-s. The existence of the word *mahāmāṭṭa* in the Pali *Vinayaṇṇaṭṭaka* ² (i. e. pre-Aśokan) in the sense of 'king's minister' proves conclusively, if proof were required, that *mahāmāṭṭa*-s were not an Aśokan innovation.

5. The situation is similar with regard to *dhamma*-proclamations. In Pillar Edict VII(K) Aśoka states that having considered the lack of progress in morality he decided : *dhamma-sāvanāni sāvaṇṇapayāmi* ³ -'I shall issue proclamations on morality'. ⁴ This does not prove that others had not issued such proclamations before Aśoka. It only suggests that, if they had, they were not successful in promoting progress in morality. Even if Aśoka was the first to make proclamations about morality, it implies nothing about his being the first to make proclamations in general. In Rock Edict VI (F) ⁵ we find the adjective *sāvaka* 'connected with a proclamation' used in a secular sense, showing, as we might expect, that Aśoka did not merely use the word in a religious context.

6. So we see that of the three things which Aśoka said in Pillar Edict VII (P) he had done, two of them are innovations only in so far as they refer to specific usages. Aśoka did not invent *mahāmāṭṭa*-s, only *mahāmāṭṭa*-s of morality. He did not invent proclamations ; at the most he was the first to make proclamations about morality. If two of the statements fall into this category, it is probable that the third does too. Aśoka was not denying that others had set up pillars ; he was merely stating that he had made pillars of morality.

7. If Aśoka appointed a *mahāmāṭṭa* and then put him in charge

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 176, 179-80.

2 See the Pali Text Society's *Pali-English Dictionary*, s. v. *mahā*.

3 Hultzsch, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 134.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 34 (Kalsi version).

of *dhamma*, he thereby made him a *dhamma-mahāmāṭṭa*. As a king Aśoka made many proclamations, but only if he made one about *dhamma* was it a *dhamma-sāvana*. Similarly, if Aśoka took a *silā-thambha* and had *dhamma* inscribed upon it, he made it a *dhamma-thambha*. It made no difference whether the pillar had been erected (*usapāpita*) at Aśoka's order, or by one of his predecessors. It was made (*kaṭa*) a *dhamma-thambha* when *dhamma* was inscribed upon it: before that it was a *silā-thambha*.

8. It is noteworthy that at the end of Pillar Edict VII Aśoka does not say: 'Inscribe this upon my *dhamma-thambha-s*', which he presumably would have done had he wanted Pillar Edict VII inscribed only upon the same pillars as Pillar Edicts I-VI, but 'wherever there are stone pillars'. One of the great mysteries of the Aśokan inscriptions is why Pillar Edict VII is found upon one pillar only, i. e. why the machinery which had successfully taken Pillar Edicts I-VI to the six sites did not function in the same way for Pillar Edict VII. The theory which has been put forward that Aśoka reigned for only 28 years, and the Topra version of Pillar Edict VII was inscribed as he lay dying,¹ with the implication that his death cut short the carving of the edict on the other pillars, has not seemed so satisfactory since the discovery of a portion of an Aramaic/Prakrit version of Pillar Edict VII in Aramaic script on a stone slab in Kandahar, Afghanistan, in 1964.² Clearly, if it was possible to take a copy of the edict to the far North-West, translate it into Aramaic and then inscribe it, the inscribing could certainly have been done at sites nearer Aśoka's capital.³

9. We may now return to the two pillars which were dismissed earlier (Section B. 1). We can deduce that Aśoka did not have the word *dhamma-thambha* inscribed upon them, because the inscriptions on them do not contain *dhamma*. They are simply commemorative, recording the fact that Aśoka had visited the site, and stating its importance.

1 P. H. L. Eggermont, 'New Notes on Aśoka and His Successors', *Persica*, Vol. II (1965-66), p. 33.

2 É. Benveniste *et al.*, 'Une inscription indo-araméenne d'Asoka provenant de Kandahar (Afghanistan)', *Journal Asiatique*, 1966, pp. 437-70.

3 It seems scarcely possible that all the scribes except the one at Topra actually thought that the mention of *silā-thambha-s* excluded *dhamma-thambha-s*.

The appropriate word is therefore *silā-thambha*.

D. Conclusions.

1. It is clear that Aśoka must have seen, or heard of, stone pillars when he sent out Minor Rock Edict I. If our dating of that edict to Aśoka's eleventh year is correct, we must conclude that we do not know the pillars to which he was referring.

2. It is purely negative evidence, but not entirely negligible, that none of the fourteen existing versions¹ of Minor Rock Edict I is in fact inscribed upon a pillar. We must therefore assume that when Aśoka sent this edict to be inscribed he did not know ('...if...') whether pillars existed in those areas or not. This would seem to be a strange state of affairs if he had sent orders not so many years before to have pillars erected.

3. Pillar Edict VII does not state that Aśoka was the innovator of stone pillars, only of *dhamma*-pillars (and it says that by implication only, not as explicitly as Aśoka claims to be the first to appoint *dhamma-mahāmāṭṭa*-s). A *silā-thambha* is not the same as a *dhamma-thambha*.

4. We must therefore conclude that the Aśokan inscriptions do not provide evidence for the statement that stone pillars did not exist before Aśoka's time. They do provide evidence of the existence of pillars at the time when Aśoka promulgated Minor Rock Edict I, but they do not tell us conclusively whether Aśoka himself had had them erected or a predecessor. On balance, they rather favour the view that they were not erected by Aśoka.

5. If they were erected by Aśoka they may have been for secular purposes, as symbols of his power, or for religious reasons. If they were pre-Aśokan, they were presumably erected for one of the same two reasons.

6. Since the epigraphist and linguist are unable to find conclusive evidence in the inscriptions themselves as to whether the pillars are Aśokan or pre-Aśokan, this task must be left to the archaeologist and the art historian.

¹ Three more versions have recently been discovered, at Udegolam, Nittur, and Pangudariyam. The last of these includes a reference to *pavatā* and *silā-thabā*.

A NOTE ON ṢĀḌ-GUṆYA

LUDO ROCHER

KAUṬILYA DEVOTES THE ENTIRE seventh book of the *Arthaśāstra* to the study of ṣāḍ-guṇya. Except for the introductory chapter (I. 1. 9), the term occurs once elsewhere in the *Arthaśāstra*,¹ and is also used by Manu.² Kauṭilya (VII. 1. 9) and Manu (VII. 1. 60) also use the expression ṣaḍ-guṇa; Yājñavalkya (I. 346) has guṇa only. It is, then, a logical question, to ask : *kasya ṣāḍ-guṇyam ? kasya ṣaḍ-guṇāḥ ? kim ṣaḍ-guṇam ?* 'what has six guṇas ? what is sixfold ?'

The following are some of the translations that have been given for ṣāḍ-guṇya. Böhtlingk and Roth's Petersburg Lexicon has : 'the sixfold behavior of the king in foreign policy' (*das sechsfache Verfahren eines Fürsten in der auswärtigen Politik*), and Monier-Williams translates : 'the six measures or acts of royal policy'. Among the translators of Kauṭilya, Shamasastri proposes : 'the sixfold policy', Schmidt : 'the sixfold behavior, method' (*Verfahren*), and Kangle : 'the six measures of foreign policy'. Similarly, in Bühler's translation of Manu : 'the measures of royal policy'. All these translations express, in some way, the real connotation of the term ṣāḍ-guṇya; yet, they do not account for the origin of the elliptic use of an abstract noun, without the use of another noun in the genitive to express the logical subject. Even though the abstract noun 'sixfold-ness' was apparently considered meaningful enough by the authors on Dharmaśāstra and Arthaśāstra, and even though ṣāḍ-guṇya is never preceded by a noun in the genitive, it is still possible from the texts to find out what the full expression must have been before the ellipsis of the subject of the predicate formula ṣāḍ-guṇyam.

Kauṭilya simply states (VII. 1. 1) that ṣāḍ-guṇya has *prakṛti-maṇḍala* as its *yoni*. On the other hand, he says elsewhere (VI. 2. 4) that ṣāḍ-guṇya itself is the *yoni* of *śama* and *vyāyāma*. If we add to this

1 VI. 2. 4.

2 VII. 58, 167.

Arthaśāstra, VI. 2. 1, we obtain the following scheme of successive *yonis* :

prakṛti-maṇḍalam
 ↓
śāḍ-guṇyam
 ↓
śama-vyāyāmau
 ↓
yoga-kṣemau

At this point I should like to turn to the corresponding passage of the *Manusmṛti*. Manu¹ says :

anantaram = ariṃ vidyād = arisevinam = eva ca
arer = anantaram mitram = udāsīnam tayoḥ param.

Bühler² translates : 'Let (the king) consider as hostile his immediate neighbour and the partisan of (such a) foe, as friendly the immediate neighbour of his foe, and as neutral (the king) beyond those two'.

Next, Manu (VII. 159) teaches how to deal with these different types of kings :

tān sarvān = abhisamdadhyāt sāmādibhir = upakramaiḥ
vyastaiḥ = c = aiva samastaiḥ = ca pauruṣeṇa nayena ca.

And this stanza is followed immediately by the enumeration of the six *guṇas*. Bühler's translation of Manu, VII. 159 is as follows : 'Let him overcome all of them by means of the (four) expedients, conciliation and the rest, (employed) either simply or conjointly, (or) by bravery and policy (alone)'.³ There is no note to this translation, but it is obviously based on the interpretations of the Sanskrit commentators.

The interpretations proposed by the commentators on Manu vary in detail, but they all agree that *pauruṣeṇa nayena ca* again refers to one or two of the four *upakramas* or *upāyas* : *sāma*, *bheda*, *dāna*, and *daṇḍa*.

Two commentators are of little help. Nandana merely states, on the entire stanza : *pauruṣeṇa utsāhena*. Rāmacandra does not comment on the fourth *pāda* at all, although he seems to establish a link between the verb in VII. 159 and the beginning of VII. 160 : *sāmādibhir*

1 VII. 158.

2 *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XXV, p. 241.

3 *Loc. cit.*

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upakramaiś = caturbhir = upāyaiḥ sāma-dāna-daṇḍa-bhedaiḥ samastair = vyastair = vā tān sarvān = arimitrādīn saṁdadhyāt saṁdhiṁ kuryāt.

The common denominator that runs through the other commentaries published by Mandlik is that they link Manu, VII. 159d to VII. 109:

sāmādinām = upāyānām caturṇām = api paṇḍitāḥ

sāma-daṇḍau praśamsanti nityam rāṣṭr-ābhivṛddhaye.

Kullūka, for instance, comments as follows: *tān sarvān = nṛpatīn sāma-dāna-bheda-daṇḍair = yathā sambhavaṁ vyastaiḥ samastair = vaśīkuryāt. Athavā pauruṣeṇa daṇḍen = aiva kevalena nayena sāmna = aiva kevalen = ātmavaśān kuryāt. Tathā c = oktam: sāma-daṇḍau praśamsanti nityam rāṣṭr-ābhivṛddhaye.* He seems to propose a fourfold alternative:

{	either the four <i>upāyas</i>	either jointly or separately
	or just two of them	either <i>daṇḍa</i> only or <i>sāma</i> only

Rāghavānanda makes this even clearer: *vyastaiḥ sāmna dānena bhedenā daṇḍena ca kaṁcit samastaiḥ kaṁcit sāma-dāna-bheda-daṇḍaiḥ, pauruṣeṇa daṇḍen = aiva nayena sāmna = aiva vā. Tath = oktam: sāma-daṇḍau praśamsanti nityam rāṣṭr-ābhivṛddhaya iti,* and so does Govindarāja: *tān sarvān prakṛtīn sāma-dāna-bheda-daṇḍ = ākhyair = yathā sambhavaṁ vyastaiḥ samastair = vā pauruṣeṇa vā daṇḍen = aiva kevalena nayena vā sāmna = aiva vā kevalena vaśīkuryāt.*

Sarvajñanārāyaṇa is slightly different. First, he takes *pauruṣeṇa nayena CA* more literally. Second, although he follows the others in equating *pauruṣa* with *daṇḍa*, at the same time he seems to establish a parallel between *vyastaiḥ* and *pauruṣeṇa* on the one hand, and between *samastaiḥ* and *nayena* on the other: *abhisāṁdadhyāt ātmīyaṁ kuryāt upakramair = upāyaiḥ pauruṣeṇa daṇḍa-kāraṇa-bhūtena nayena ca matikauśalena sāma-dāna-bheda-daṇḍa-kāraṇa-bhūtena.*

I quote Medhātithi last. His commentary on Manu, VII. 159d is brief and to the point: *pauruṣa-nayau sāma-daṇḍāv = eva tatra c = oktau sāma-daṇḍau praśamsant = iti.* The most noticeable element is that, whereas all others, even, up to a point, Sarvajñanārāyaṇa, identify *pauruṣa* with *daṇḍa* and *naya* with *sāma*, Medhātithi seems to invert the two. According to him, the king shall either use all four *upāyas*, or just two: *pauruṣa = sāma* and *naya = daṇḍa*. No later commentator has followed

him on this point ; I shall indicate a possible source for this 'deviation' later in this paper.

The recently published commentary by Bhāruci¹ deserves our special attention. Bhāruci says, on VII. 159 : *sāmādibhiḥ = caturbhiḥ samastair = vyastair = vā pauruṣeṇa nayena vā kevalena daṇḍena vā. Kevalena daṇḍen = eti samāsikaḥ śāḍ-guṇya-krama ucyate*. Although here too we recognize elements which appear in the works of the other commentators, Bhāruci stands alone, except for the dubious case of Rāmacandra, in connecting VII. 159 with VII. 160. Derrett translates the latter half of the commentary as follows : 'Assuming mere force is to be used, Manu tells us of the sixfold measures in a comprehensive list'.

Let us first notice that the word *samāsikaḥ* is strange ; Derrett leaves it untranslated. I propose to interpret it with the help of Bhāruci's commentary on VII. 162, which further divides each of the six *guṇas* enumerated in VII. 160 into two. There the commentator says : *ṣaḍ = apy = ete guṇāḥ samāsato dvidhā bhidyante*. Derrett's edition is based on a poorly preserved codex unicus. In view of the commentary on VII. 162, I suggest to emend the reading of the manuscript under VII. 159 as follows : *kevalena daṇḍen = eti samāsataḥ ṣaḍ-guṇya-krama ucyate* ; "the succinct expression : 'with *daṇḍa* only' stands for the whole series of *ṣaḍ-guṇya*".

As to Bhārucci's interpretation of Manu, VII. 159, it establishes a threefold alternative which is different from that of all other commentators :

{ either the four *upāyas* { either jointly
or *pauruṣeṇa* *nayena* { or separately

And Bhārucci equates *pauruṣeṇa nayena* with *kevalena daṇḍena*. In other words, he aligns his interpretation of VII. 159, not with VII. 109, but with VII. 108 :

yadi te tu na tiṣṭheyur = upāyaiḥ prathamais = tribhiḥ
daṇḍena tu prasahyaitāṁś = chanakair = vaśam = ānayet.

Derrett² has shown elsewhere Medhātithi's indebtedness to Bhāruci.

1 Ed. J. D. M. Derrett, Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1975.

2 'A Jurist and His Sources : Medhātithi's Use of Bhāruci', *Adyar Library Bulletin*,

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Medhātithi's identification of *naya* with *daṇḍa*, against the tradition represented by all other commentators, probably has to be added to Derrett's list.

I now come to my own interpretation of Manu, VII. 159. It is identical with Bhāruci's as far as the threefold alternative is concerned, but it goes one step further in connecting VII. 159 with the immediately following stanza. I suggest that the six *guṇas* in Manu, VII. 160 :

*saṁdhiṁ = ca vighraṁ = c = aiva yānam = āsanam = eva ca
dvaidhībhāvaṁ saṁśrayaṁ = ca śāḍ-guṇāṁś = cintayet sadā,*

are the six *guṇas* of *pauruṣo nayaḥ*. Therefore, the question, asked at the beginning of this article, *kasya śāḍ-guṇyam* ?, can, as far as Manu is concerned, be answered as follows : *nayasya śāḍ-guṇyam*, or *nayaḥ śāḍ-guṇaḥ*.

This interpretation is supported by a passage in the *Viṣṇusmṛti* (III. 38-39), which uses neither the generic term *upakrama* nor *pauruṣo naya* or *śāḍ-guṇa*, but in which the distinction between both groups is clearly made :

*śatru-mitr-odāsina-madhyameṣu sāma-bheda-dāna-daṇḍān
yathārhaṁ yathākālaṁ prayuñjita. Saṁdhi-vighra-yān-āsana-
saṁśraya-dvaidhībhāvaṁś = ca yathākālaṁ = āśrayet.*

We shall now return to Kauṭilya. Indeed, the fact that it is *naya* which is *śāḍ-guṇa* is not only Manu's but also Kauṭilya's point of view. Although this may not be immediately evident from Kauṭilya's text, it becomes clear if we put the following facts together. I indicated earlier that, according to Kauṭilya (VI. 2. 1), *śama-vyāyāmau* are the *yoni* of *yoga-kṣemau*, and that, according to him (VI. 2. 4) *śāḍ-guṇya* is the *yoni* of *śama-vyāyāmau*. Immediately after this, the sole occurrence, except for the introductory chapter, of *śāḍ-guṇya* outside book seven, Kauṭilya engages (VI. 2. 6-12) in an unexpected and seemingly unrelated analysis of the various forms of *karma* which, all together, *lokaṁ yāpayati* 'make the world go'.¹ Kauṭilya's subdivision of *karma* is as follows :

Vol. XXX, 1967, pp. 1-22 ; now also in *Essays in Classical and Modern Hindu Law*,
Leiden, 1976, pp. 151-73.

¹ Kangle's translation of *Arthaśāstra*, VI. 2. 7.

karma	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} m\bar{a}nu\bar{s}am \\ (= dṛṣṭa-kāritam) \end{array} \right\}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} nayaḥ \\ (= yoga-kṣema-niṣpattiḥ) \\ apanayaḥ \\ (= [yoga-kṣema]-vipattiḥ) \end{array} \right\}$
	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} daivam \\ (= adṛṣṭa-kāritam) \end{array} \right\}$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} ayaḥ \\ (= iṣṭena phalena yogaḥ) \\ anayaḥ \\ (= aniṣṭena [phalena yogaḥ]) \end{array} \right\}$

Even though this is not obvious from the place which *sūtras* VI. 2. 6-12 occupy in the Chapter as a whole, there is no doubt that their purpose is not an analysis of the various kinds of *karma*. Rather, the author intends to define and place within its own frame of reference the term *naya*. Indeed, the immediately following *sūtra* (VI. 2. 13), which defines the *vijigīṣu*, calls him *nayasya adhiṣṭhānam*.¹

An additional argument to show that it is *naya* which is *ṣaḍ-guṇa* derives from a comparison of Kauṭilya, VI. 2. 12 with Manu, VII. 160. Kauṭilya, VI. 2. 12 calls *daivam karma* : *acintyam* (Shamasastri : 'cannot be known' ; Schmidt : 'hat unser Denken und Sorgen nichts zu tun' ; Kangle : 'incalculable'). *Mānuṣam karma*, on the other hand, is *cintyam* (Shamasastri : 'can be foreseen' ; Schmidt : 'hat unser Denken und Sorgen zu tun' ; Kangle : 'can be thought about'). *Mānuṣam karma* is identical with *nayaḥ* (and its opposite, *anayaḥ*) ; therefore, as far as Kauṭilya is concerned, *nayaḥ* is *cintyaḥ*. When we next turn to Manu, we notice that VII. 160 concludes as follows : *ṣaḍ-guṇāṁś = cintayet sadā* (Bühler : 'Let him constantly think of the six measures of royal policy...').

The main point which this paper wanted to bring to the fore is that, by the time of Kauṭilya and Manu, *ṣaḍ-guṇya* had become a technical expression well enough established that its logical subject, *naya*, could be omitted. Demonstrating this point also led us, among other things, to examine the various interpretations given for Manu, VII. 159, and to propose a new one, and to account for the sudden appearance of the passage on *karma* in Kauṭilya.

I also want to use this study to propose the following more general working hypothesis. At the time of the śāstras there was no strict

1 Translated as 'the fountain of policy' by Shamasastri, as 'der Grund, auf dem die kluge Politik ruht' by Schmidt, and as 'the seat of good policy' by Kangle.

A NOTE ON ŚĀD-GUṆYA

separation between *dharma* and *artha* : both Manu and Kauṭilya use the expression *śāḍ-guṇya*, and they are both aware that what is really meant is : *nayasya śāḍ-guṇyam*. The division between Dharmaśāstra and Arthaśāstra manifests itself at the time of the commentators, and the separation is a gradual one. Bhāruci comments on Manu, but he is still very much aware of the Arthaśāstra literature. Medhātithi uses Bhāruci as one of his important sources, but he is much farther away from Arthaśāstra per se. With the later commentators the separation between *dharma* and *artha* literature becomes nearly complete : Kullūka and others comment on *dharma*, and they do not show any awareness of Arthaśāstra. The passages on *karma* in the Dharmaśāstras¹ and their treatment by the commentators, may serve as a case in point to test this hypothesis.

1 Manu, VII. 205 ; Yājñavalkya, I. 348-350 ; etc.

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA ON NĀRĀYAṆA BHATṬA OF BENARES*

RICHARD SALOMON

IN HINDU TRADITION, Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa of Benares is widely acclaimed as one of the greatest of the medieval *paṇḍitas*, and as the founder of a long line of authors on Dharmaśāstra, the Bhaṭṭas of Benares, including such authoritative figures as Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa, Nīlakaṇṭha Bhaṭṭa, and Viśveśvara Bhaṭṭa. Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa himself is best known as the author of the *Tristhalīsetu*, the definitive text on pilgrimages in general and on the three great *tīrthas* of Prayāga, Kāśī and Gayā specifically. He is also the author of two other major works, the *Prayogaratna* and (as will be shown below) the *Dharmapravṛtti*, and of numerous minor works.

Due to his renown in orthodox tradition, we are comparatively well informed as to the life and activities of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa and his family. Nārāyaṇa was born in 1513 A. D. to Rāmeśvara Bhaṭṭa, son of Govinda Bhaṭṭa, of Pratiṣṭhāna (modern Paithan on the Godavari in Maharashtra). While Nārāyaṇa was still a child, his father settled in Benares, where Nārāyaṇa spent his life. He established himself as head of the '*Dakṣiṇī*' (i.e. Maharashtrian) *paṇḍitas*, and his sons and descendants were predominant among this important group for centuries. Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa was also known as a collector and copyist of Sanskrit manuscripts, and was associated with the great royal figures of Akbar and Ṭoḍar Mal. The episode (to be discussed below) for which he is best remembered in popular Benares tradition was his re-establishment of the Viśveśvara līṅga which had been destroyed by a Mohammedan king.

The life of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, as outlined above, is derived from a variety of sources—biographical references in the texts (especially introductory verses and colophons) of Nārāyaṇa himself and of his descendants, traditional lore among the people of Benares, and above all from a unique biography of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa and his antecedents by

* [Now called 'Varanasi'.—Ed.]

his son Śaṅkara Bhaṭṭa, entitled *Gādhivamśānucarita*.¹ More detailed accounts of these materials and the information derived from them may be found in the following places :

1. P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra* (Revised Edition, Poona, 1975), Vol. I, Pt. II, pp. 903-07.
2. P. V. Kane's edition of Nīlakaṇṭha Bhaṭṭa's *Vyavahāramayūkha* (Bombay, 1926), pp. v-xvi.
3. V. N. Mandlik's edition of the same text (Bombay, 1880), pp. 4-6 (in Sanskrit).
4. Haraprasad Shastri's article 'Dakṣiṇī Pandits at Benares', *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XLI (1912), pp. 7-11.
5. A. S. Altekar's *History of Benares* (Benares, 1937), pp. 41, 45, 47-49.

But our purpose here is not to repeat in detail what has already been discovered and published concerning the life and works of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa. It is rather to attempt to shed light on some specific points of doubt or controversy concerning him, and to confirm or refute the views of previous scholars on some of these points.

1. KNOWN DATES FOR NĀRĀYAṆA BHATṬA'S LIFE.

At least four specific dates from Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa's lifetime are known. The *GVA* gives his date of birth as Caitra in the Śaka year 1435, which corresponds to March-April of 1513 A. D. The next date is that of a manuscript of the *Śabarabhāṣya*, copied by Nārāyaṇa himself,² which contains the scribe's own *ślokas* indicating that Nārāyaṇa finished copying the seventh book of the *bhāṣya* on the 14th day of the bright half of Viśākhā* in the Śaka year 1457, i.e. 1535 A. D. The *ślokas* run as follows :

Rṣi-bāṇ-ābdhi-bhū-gaṇye śāke jyeṣṭhe site ravau|
caturdaśyām viśākhāsu grantho = 'ntam samagād = ayam||
Bhaṭṭa-Rāmeṣa-putreṇa Kāśīpuryām yathā-mati|
likhitaḥ saptaṁ = 'dhyāyo bhāṣye Śabara-satkṛtau||

1 Henceforth *GVA*.

2 Cited by Mandlik (*op. cit.*, p. 5.)

* [Copying was actually completed on Sunday, the 14th day of the bright half of Jyaiṣṭhā, in the Śaka year 1457, when the *nakṣatra* was Viśākhā (i.e. Sunday, May 16, 1535 A. D.).—Ed.]

The third date is that of the composition of Nārāyaṇa's commentary, known as 'Nārāyaṇī,' on the *Vṛttaratnākara*,¹ given in the final verse of the text as *Vikrama-śake dvi-kha-ṣaḍ-bhū-saṁmite sitaga-kārtika-rudra*, i.e. the month of Kārtika in the Vikrama year 1602, i.e. October-November of 1545 A. D. The fourth and last date appears in a manuscript of Someśvara's *Nyāyasudhā* described in Rajendralal Mitra's *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, Vol. III, p. 344, No. 1347, and illustrated in Plate VI of the same volume. The colophon at the bottom of the illustrated folio reads :

*Samvat 1624 Kārtika-kṛṣṇa-dvitiyāyām manda-vāsare vidvadvarya-śrī-Rāmeśvarabhaṭṭa-S[*ūri-sūnu] Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭena samāpitam pustaka-la-
[sic] khanam.*

Thus Nārāyaṇa completed copying this manuscript on the second day of the dark half of the month of Kārtika in the year Samvat 1624 = A. D. 1567. There can be no reasonable doubt that Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa of the manuscript is the great Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa of Benares, especially since it is clear from his own writings that he was very familiar with the *Nyāyasudhā*, which he quotes frequently in his *Tristhalīsetu*.²

This date, the 54th of Nārāyaṇa's life, is the last definite date we have for him, so that we have no sure way to know how much longer he lived after 1567 A. D. Altekar (*op.cit.*, pp. 41, 45) believes that Nārāyaṇa wrote the *Tristhalīsetu* and rebuilt the Viśveśvara temple around 1585 A. D. and lived until about 1595 ; but the evidence for this is very weak. It may safely be said only that Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa probably wrote his major works around the middle or latter half of the 16th century, and died sometime around 1600.

The two manuscripts described above written by Nārāyaṇa himself confirm his reputation as a collector and copier of books on Mīmāṃsā and other subjects. It may be reasonably expected that more of his manuscripts have survived to the present day and will, when discovered, provide more information for his biography.

2. AUTHORSHIP OF WORKS ATTRIBUTED TO NĀRĀYAṆA BHATṬA.

1 Kashi Sanskrit Series, No. 55, 1962, p. 191.

2 This important manuscript was pointed out by Dineshchandra Bhattacharya in *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XIII (1937), p. 34.

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA ON NĀRĀYAṆA BHATṬA OF BENARES

(a) The *Dharmapravṛtti*.

As mentioned above, Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa wrote three major works, the *Tristhalīsetu*, the *Prayogaratna*, and the *Dharmapravṛtti*, as well as numerous minor works on ritual, such as the *Jīvacchrāddhanirṇaya* and the *Antyeṣṭipaddhati*, which are not of great general interest ; and various commentaries, such as that on the *Vṛttaratnākara* cited above. The main point of controversy in this connection is whether the author of the *Dharmapravṛtti*, usually known simply as 'Nārāyaṇa', is in fact Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa of Benares. Although many scholars have assumed this identity, the very prominent authority P.V. Kane¹ has disputed it on the following grounds :

'The benedictory verses in the *Dharmapravṛtti* are different from those of the *Prayogaratna* and *Tristhalīsetu*, the method of treatment and the style are different and the colophons are also different. The author of the *Dharmapravṛtti* does not mention his ancestors as Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa does. Nīlakaṇṭha in his *Vyavahāramayūkha* finds fault with the *Dharmapravṛtti* by saying that certain quotations therein are unauthoritative.'²

But in the *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Collection* (Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1923), Vol. II, p. 375, Haraprasad Shastri quotes a *śloka* from folio 11A of the *GVA* manuscript, in connection with a manuscript of the *Dharmapravṛtti*. He says : "Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa wrote this for Southern India. For his son Śaṅkara says in his *Gādhivamśānucarita* :

*Dharmapravṛttir = iti dakṣiṇataḥ prasiddhām
cakre samasta-budha-saṁśayanāśa-śastrīm|
Vindhy-ottare vyavahṛtām tu budhaiḥ Prayoga-
ratn-ākhyām nikhila-saṁskṛti-paddhatiṁ yaḥ||"*

As there is no reason to doubt the authenticity and authority of this verse as quoted by Shastri, it must be taken to outweigh the stylistic and other objections of Kane. It is true that the introductory material of the *Dharmapravṛtti* is rather unlike that of the *Tristhalīsetu*,

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 907.

2 The reference is to *Vyavahāramayūkha* (*op. cit.*, p. 134) :

"Yāni tu *Dharmapravṛttau* vacāṁsi...vastutas = tv = etāni *nirmalāny = eva*".

but it should be noted that the author of the former cites among his sources the Āśvalāyana sūtras (India Office Catalogue, I. 480); and Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, the author of the *Tristhalīsetu*, is likewise a follower of the Āśvalāyanas. Also, the author of the *Dharmaprayatni* is called Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa in the colophon (India Office Catalogue, I. 481). In view of Shastri's evidence, it can be considered definite that Nārāyaṇa who wrote the *Dharmaprayatni* is the same Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa who wrote the *Tristhalīsetu*.

As for Kane's objection that Nīlakaṇṭha would not criticize his grandfather's texts, on p. 126, line 2 of his *Śrāddhamayūkha*,¹ he criticizes an opinion of some scholars (*kaiścid = uktam*) that the word *pitṛ* should be modified (*ūha*) to the word *preta* with a singular ending in a *pret = aik-oddīṣṭa-śrāddha*. As a matter of fact, this is the opinion of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa himself, expressed in the 'Sāmānya-praghaṭṭaka' of the *Tristhalīsetu*.² Thus we see that in other cases Nīlakaṇṭha was not afraid of disagreeing with his illustrious grandfather, so that his criticism of the *Dharmaprayatni* does not indicate that it was written by a different Nārāyaṇa.

The distinction made by Śaṅkara between the *Prayogarātna* and the *Dharmaprayatni* is in fact reflected by the modern situation. *Prayogarātna* is current mainly in northern India, while *Dharmaprayatni*³ is found in the south. Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa's concern for the practices of Deccan Hindus seems to indicate a continued consciousness of his southern origin.⁴

Thus one of the major points of controversy concerning Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa is solved by a single verse quoted from the *GVA*. It is a great

1 Gujarati Press, Bombay, 1920.

2 Published as *Tristhalīsetupraghaṭṭake Sarvatīrthavidhipraghaṭṭākhyāḥ Prathamā Bhāgaḥ*, Candraprabha Press, Kasi, 1908, p. 60. (The remaining three sections of the *Tristhalīsetu* are published in the Anandasram edition cited below).

3 The published edition of this text is in Telugu script (Madras, 1895), as are several of the extant manuscripts (India Office Catalogue, *Mss.* Nos. 5630-32).

4 This is confirmed also by one of the few published verses from the *GVA* (in *Indian Antiquary* Vol. XLI, 1912, p. 9) describing Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa's successful defence of southern views against those of the easterners (*prācya*), i.e. Gauḍas and Mithilas. The southern connections seem to have been maintained by his descendants as well. His great-grandson Viśveśvara, or Gāgā Bhaṭṭa, travelled to his ancestral Maharashtra to perform the coronation ceremonies of the Marāṭhā Śivājī.

loss to Indology that this important text was never published in full ; all we have of it are the few verses quoted by Shastri in his article referred to above and elsewhere. I have been unable to determine the present location of the unique manuscript of this text ; the scholar who can rediscover it will perform a great service.

(b) The *Ṭoḍarānanda*.

Besides the works which bear Nārāyaṇa's name as author, it has also been suggested that he may have been the principal author of the *Ṭoḍarānanda*, a huge encyclopedia of Dharmaśāstra attributed to king Ṭoḍar Mal, consisting of at least 23 sections (*saukhyas*). Of these, only two, the *sarga* and *avatāra-saukhyas*, have been published ¹ by P. L. Vaidya, who estimates² the length of the full work at 80,000 *ślokas*, approximately equal to the *Mahābhārata*. He feels that, in view of the enormous extent and variety of subjects covered in the work, it was impossible for a single man to have composed it. He thus concludes that it is a composition by a group of *paṇḍitas* working under Ṭoḍar Mal's direction, rather than being actually composed in its entirety by Ṭoḍar Mal himself. This view is supported by certain passages from the text quoted by Vaidya in his Introduction, pp. xxvi-xxvii, especially by the *śloka* 1.1.19 which conclusively proves³ Vaidya's contention that the *Ṭoḍarānanda* is not the work of Ṭoḍar Mal alone.

Vaidya is of the opinion that Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa was in all probability the principal among the *paṇḍitas* who compiled the *Ṭoḍarānanda*. From the *GVA*, it is known that Nārāyaṇa was a prominent figure in Ṭoḍar Mal's court ; and, according to Altekar,⁴ it was Nārāyaṇa who induced Ṭoḍar Mal to rebuild the Viśveśvara temple. It is clear from these and other traditions that Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa was the foremost

1 The Ganga Oriental Series, No. 5 (Anup Sanskrit Library, Bikaner, 1948).

2 *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. xxx, p. 414.

3 The *śloka* runs as follows :

Asau kadācit viduṣo viśuddhān

Āhaya satkṛtyā vinīta-mūrtiḥ/

Nānā-purāṇa-smṛtisāra-bhūtaṁ

Samādiśad grantham = amuṁ vidhātum//

4 *Op.cit.*, pp. 48-49.

paṇḍita of Benares at the time of Ṭoḍar Mal. From these facts Vaidya concludes that Nārāyaṇa must have been the principal compiler of the *Ṭoḍarānanda*, and is 'responsible for preparing all the sections dealing with the Purāṇas, Dharmaśāstra in all its branches, and even Mantrasaukhya or Samhitāsaukhya'.¹

Chronologically, there can be no objection to Vaidya's theory. The *Jyotiṣasaukhya* was written in 1572 A. D., so the rest of the *Ṭoḍarānanda* must have been composed around that time. As previously mentioned, we know from the *Nyāyasudhā* manuscript that Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa was alive in 1567 A. D., when he was 54 years old, and thus was in all likelihood still alive in 1572. But it must be admitted that there is no positive evidence for Nārāyaṇa's authorship of the *Ṭoḍarānanda*. Moreover, stylistic analysis of the *Ṭoḍarānanda* in comparison to Nārāyaṇa's known works must be of limited value for several reasons. First of all, as in the case of the *Dharmaprayatni* cited above, we have shown that various works which seem to differ in style may sometimes be authoritatively ascribed to the same author. Thus although the introductory *śloka*s of the published sections of the *Ṭoḍarānanda* are in a much more ornate poetic style than we find in most other works of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, this by no means precludes his authorship of them. Especially since he would have been writing in the name of Ṭoḍar Mal, we need not expect him to have followed his own personal tastes.

Furthermore, we are severely limited by the inaccessibility of the great majority of the text of the *Ṭoḍarānanda*. As noted above, only two of the 23 or more *saukhyas* are available in print, and these treat of matters not discussed in Nārāyaṇa's other known works, so that they do not provide good material for comparison with them. If we had access to the sections of the *Ṭoḍarānanda* which discuss matters on which Nārāyaṇa expresses his views elsewhere, we would perhaps be able to draw conclusions based on the similarity or diversion in these views ; but unfortunately such sections as the *Yātrāsaukhya* and *Śrāddhasaukhya* are not only unpublished, but are very rare even in manuscript form.

Still, it may not be mere coincidence that two *śloka*s quoted in the

1 *Op.cit.*, Introduction, pp, xxviii-xxix.

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA ON NĀRĀYAṆA BHATṬA OF BENARES

introductory portion of the Sargasaukhya also appear in the introduction to Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa's *Tristhalīsetu*. These are the *śloka*s I.1.28 and I.1.30 (p.7) :

Ūrdhva-bāhur viraumy = eṣa na vai kaścic = chṛṇoti me|

Dharmād = arthaś = ca kāmāś = ca sa kim = artham na sevyate||

(*Mahābhārata*, XVIII. 5. 49)

Dharma eva hato hanti dharmo rakṣati rakṣitaḥ|

Tasmād dharmo na hantavyo mā no dharmo hato vadhīt||

(*Manu*, VIII. 15)

These *śloka*s are also found in the Sāmānya-praghaṭṭaka of the *Tristhalīsetu* (*op.cit.*, p. 3). This correspondence, of course, could in no way be sufficient to prove Nārāyaṇa's hand in the *Ṭoḍarānanda*. But it may be taken as a minor support for Vaidya's very plausible attribution of that text to him. It may be concluded that Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa is very likely an author of the *Ṭoḍarānanda*, but the problem remains to be solved ; it can be hoped that publication of other sections of the *Ṭoḍarānanda* will permit this to be done in the future.

3. THE VIŚVEŚVARA LEGEND.

As mentioned above, Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa is most renowned in Hindu tradition for having restored the Śiva liṅga in the Viśveśvara temple at Benares, which had been destroyed by Mohammedans ('Yavanas'). This information was first noted in print by V. N. Mandlik,¹ who obtained it from one Bālaśāstrī Rāṇaḍe of Benares, with the comment *Iyam kathā Kāśī-kṣetre suprasiddhā* ('This story is well-known around Kāśī i. e. Benares').

Fortunately certain other textual information is available which tends to support the legend as historical. Kane cites² two verses from works by descendants of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa which mention this episode. The first is from the *Dānahīrāvalīprakāśa* of Divākara, who was the daughter's son (*dauhitra*) of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa's grandson Nīlakaṇṭha, and thus is rather remote from the actual event ; but the second is from the *Bhāṭṭadinakara*, a commentary on the *Śāstradīpikā* by Nārāyaṇa's own grandson Dinakara (or Divākara) Bhaṭṭa. This

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 4.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 905.

latter reference must have been quite close in time to the original event, and thus may be invoked in support of its historicity.

The strongest support, however, comes from the works of Nārāyaṇa himself. A passage in the *Tristhalīsetu*¹ (also noted by Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 45) seems to refer to just such an incident. The passage runs as follows : “*Yady=api mlecch-ādi-duṣṭa-rāja-vaśāt tasmin sthāne kiṁcid=api liṅgam kadācin=na syāt, tathāpi pradakṣiṇā-namaskārādyāḥ sthāna-dharmā bhavanty=eva*” (‘Although at times there may be no liṅga there [at Viśveśvara] due to foreigners or other evil kings, still the rites appropriate to that place such as circumambulation and salutation do take place’). Although in this passage Nārāyaṇa does not take any credit for re-establishing the liṅga himself, he clearly indicates that the condition of Viśveśvara described in the legend about him did in fact prevail during his lifetime. This and the other materials noted strongly suggest that Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa did in fact as well as in legend play a part in the restoration of this most sacred of Śaivite shrines.²

4. JAGADGURU NĀRĀYAṆA AND THE EMPEROR AKBAR.

Nārāyaṇa’s name is traditionally connected with the Mogul emperor Akbar as well as with Ṭoḍar Mal. For this reason Dinesh-chandra Bhattacharya very plausibly identifies a ‘Nārāyaṇa’ (listed among the scholars of Akbar’s time in the *Ain-i-Akbari*) with Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa of Benares.³ Nārāyaṇa is also said to have received the title *Jagadguru* from Akbar himself.⁴ According to the traditional account recorded by Mandlik,⁵ however, this title was given to him by the popular consent of religious people.⁶ Whatever the source of this

1 Anandasram Sanskrit Series, No. 78, Poona, 1915, p. 208.

2 It has however been pointed out by Shastri and others that this important accomplishment is not mentioned in the description of Nārāyaṇa in the *GVA*. Altekar (*op. cit.*, p. 48) says that the event took place after the composition of the *GVA*. It would be difficult to explain the omission otherwise, without denying its historicity.

3 *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XIII (1937), p. 34.

4 K. P. Jayaswal, *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. XIII (1927), Supplement, p. ix.

5 *Op. cit.*, p. 4.

6 “*Tat=tasya lokottaram brahma-varcasam āloky=āstika-janāḥ sarve parama-bhakti-prema-gadgadā babhūvuḥ. Sarvaḥ=ca jagadgurur= itī mahāpadavī dattā.*”

title, however, it is interesting to note that Nārāyaṇa never uses it in his own works. It is only applied in the genealogical sections of the colophons of his descendants' works; the earliest example I have found is in a manuscript of his grandson Nīlakaṇṭha's *Śrāddhamayūkha*¹ where he refers to 'Śrī-Jagadguru-Bhaṭṭa-Nārāyaṇa-Sūri'. As H. P. Shastri, who had access to the *GVA*, also refers to Akbar's grant to Nārāyaṇa of the title in question, it may be that that text contains some confirmation of this tradition.² But once again we are prevented from confirming this by the regrettable unavailability of the *GVA*.

5. NĀRĀYAṆA BHATṬA'S FAMILY AND DESCENDANTS.

There is no need to repeat the genealogy of the many prominent Bhaṭṭas descended from Nārāyaṇa; this is discussed in the various works already cited, the most detailed genealogy being given by Mandlik.³ An interesting detail not noted in most sources, however, is the name of Nārāyaṇa's wife, found in an introductory passage of the *Saṃskāra* section of the *Sarvadharmaprakāśa* of Nārāyaṇa's son Śaṅkara Bhaṭṭa :

Sampūjya...

Śrīman-Nārāyaṇ-āhvam gurum atha jananiṃ Pārvatīm Śaṅkaraḥ

*Śrī-mīmāṃsā-nyāyasāraṃ Śivapuri tanute Sarvadharmaprakāśam.*⁴

Thus Śaṅkara's mother, Nārāyaṇa's wife, was named Pārvatī.

According to the *GVA*, Nārāyaṇa had three sons, Rāmakṛṣṇa. Śaṅkara, and Govinda. But the India Office Catalogue⁵ has a text called *Prayogaratna* by one Nṛsiṃha Bhaṭṭa, son of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa. The catalogue states that some parts of the text are 'almost literally the same' as the corresponding parts of Nārāyaṇa's work of the same title. This similarity seems to suggest that Nṛsiṃha was a fourth son of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa of Benares. Likewise the same catalogue has a work called

1 *Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office*, Vol. II (London, 1935), p. 431a, Ms. no. 5490.

2 *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Collection* (Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1923), p. xxvii.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 6.

4 *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, Part I (1889), p. 482b, Ms. no. 1564.

5 *Ibid.*, pp. 103b-104a, Ms. no. 478.

Caturvīṁśatimatamatavyākhyāna or *Smṛtisaṁgrahavyākhyāna* of Rāma-candra, who is also described as the son of 'Śrīmat-sakalavidyāvinoda-Nārāyaṇa-Bhaṭṭa-Sūri'.¹ This text also quotes the above-mentioned *Nṛsiṁha-prayogaratna*. One may be tempted to take these apparently close connections as evidence that Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa had two other sons. But we must proceed with caution in this respect, especially in view of the frequency of the name 'Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa'.² It is more likely that the apparent relationships are due to a coincidence of names, than that Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa has other sons than those mentioned in the *GVA*.

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 475-76, Ms. no. 1554.

2 At least two other renowned authors in Sanskrit literature bear the name ; the dramatist, author of the *Veṇīsaṁhāra*, and the Kerala grammarian. Many other lesser known authors of this name may also be found.

RĀMA'S PĀDUKĀ AND FINGER-RING

H. D. SANKALIA

THE EPISODES OF Rāma's *pādukā* and finger-ring are known even to a child, to the literate and illiterate in India. Everyone, even scholars, have accepted these as historical facts, so much so that even the Editors of the Critical Edition of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, published at Baroda, have included these episodes, and even others, in the respective editions, viz, Ayodhyā Kāṇḍa, Kiṣkindhā Kāṇḍa and Sundara Kāṇḍa.

These and other incidents, when examined from a logical point of view, really make us wonder how these two things could have been available to Rāma, when he had left everything—his normal dress as a prince, and donned bark clothes—and gone to the forest? Though it is not expressly mentioned in the present Vālmīki *Rāmāyaṇa*,¹ he, Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa were walking barefoot.

This being so, how did he produce the sandals (*pādukās*), and that too, studded with gold, when Bharata refused to return to Ayodhyā and give up his life by fasting at Citrakūṭa?

When Bharata was so adamant, Rāma gave him his gold-studded sandals. These *pādukās* Bharata took with great joy and worshipped them for no less than 14 years, until Rāma returned from the forest. Thus these *pādukās* reminded him—Bharata—of the presence of Rāma.

Now behind this, there is a very important concept, viz. worship or admiration of a human being, and in the absence of the person himself, his personal belongings such as sandals, parasol, and even the incidents connected with his life.

When we examine the history of this concept, we find that it does not occur in the Vedic literature, that is it is not known from about 1500 B. C. to 600 B. C.

But this concept first appears after the death of Buddha. It is well

1 Critical Edition, II. 104. 20-23.

known that Buddha had forbidden his devotees to worship him or anybody in human form.

Though a very wholesome advice, it is very difficult to follow, particularly by the masses. Human mind always wants something concrete, which it can visualize and worship.

It is this common human feeling which brought into existence the worship of Buddha's footsteps or foot-prints, his parasol, the scene of Buddha leaving his family, and the place where he got enlightenment and his death or *nirvāṇa*. All these came to be sculptured in the earlier *stūpas*—monuments erected in memory of Buddha—at Bharhut, Sanchi, and later numerous other places.

Of all these, for the present discussion, important are the representations of Buddha's footsteps or foot-prints. For the first time either in India, or elsewhere, the footsteps or foot-prints or, in their absence, the sandals worn by the person held in esteem, came to be worshipped.

It is to this concept, and its representation in Buddhist monuments that we have to attribute the idea of Bharata undertaking to regard Rāma's *pādukā* as representing Rāma, during the latter's absence for 14 years. This episode in the *Rāmāyaṇa* is indeed post-Buddha, and cannot be dated earlier than the 3rd century B. C. The other question is "Could Rāma possess *pādukā* and that to gold-studded in the forest"? While these questions are certainly relevant they can be accounted for, as later interpolations. But we should not doubt that Rāma, or any king for that matter, possessed gold-studded sandals. For these things, though indeed luxuries, were indulged in by kings and queens, and we have the finest example in the gold embroidered *chappal* found from the tomb of Tut-Ankh-Aman, the young Pharaoh of Egypt, who died at the age of 18. His reign is fairly well dated so that we can be sure that gold embroidered *chappals* were worn as early as the 14th century B. C.

The history of the ring, and that too signet—that is bearing Rāma's name, is equally illuminating. We may again wonder how Rāma produced it, when Hanumān had asked him for some identification card (mark), while the latter was going in search of Sītā.

Rāma was not expected to carry, and much less possess any ornaments, though Sītā was allowed to do so. This apart, the ring

ĀCĀRYA-VANDANĀ : D. R. BHANDARKAR BIRTH CENTENARY VOLUME



Worshipping the Footprints of the Buddha. Amaravati. 1st century A. D.

ĀCĀRYA-VANDANĀ : D. R. BHANDARKAR BIRTH CENTENARY VOLUME



Worshipping Footsteps of the Buddha. Bharhut. 2nd century B. C.

RĀMA'S PĀDUKĀ AND FINGER-RING

which Rāma gave to Hanumān was no ordinary ring. It bore his—Rāma's—name.

In this simple episode two very important things of historical interest are involved. First, the existence or development of the ring, and secondly the antiquity of writing. If we leave out the undeciphered Indus pictographic script, engraved on so-called seals of steatite, and rarely on copper tablets, or at times found painted on pottery, we have no writing in India up to 260 B. C.

Secondly, if we examine the evidence of finger rings, as found in India from c. 2500 B. C. downwards, we find that neither the Indus or Harappan Civilization, nor the later Copper Age Cultures or the Early Iron Age Painted Grey Ware Cultures, has so far produced any signet ring. All the rings from these and other cultures are of a simple type.

So called signet rings, or rings bearing kings' names, are found for the first time at Taxila and other sites in the Punjab in the 1st century B. C. These were introduced by the Indo-Greeks and later adopted by the Kuṣāṇas. However, outside India, the signet ring was known in Egypt, and several were found in Tut-Ankh-Aman's tomb.

Thus historically and archaeologically two of the most important episodes on which the *Rāmāyaṇa* story hangs, are comparatively late, and seem to have been interpolated in the *Ur* or original *Ādikāvya* of Vālmīki after the 1st-2nd century A. D. It is these and other the great revelry scene in Bharadvāja's *āśrama*, when not only meat and wine, but hundreds of women, according to one version, *but seven only* according to the Critical Edition, were offered to Bharata, his widowed mothers, and the vast army. And the soldiers said—"Oh Bharata, we are extremely happy here, you may go, wherever you like".

The surprising thing is that our orthodox scholars see nothing *repugnant*, nothing *inappropriate* in this show of hospitality !

But the presence of such scenes of revelry can be explained or accounted for as reflection of the socio-economic and political conditions in India, at a particular time in her long history, and as not belonging to the original *Ādikāvya* composed by Vālmīki. The emergence of the Kuṣāṇa and Roman empires had for the first time cleared the transcontinental highways of dacoits and the sea lanes of

pirates. This had given a great fillip to trade and commerce between India and the Roman world. Besides muslin and silk, spices were exported in such large quantities that both the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* speak of "*Marici-pattana*" (spice-ports) or "pepper ports". These are the modern Crangnore, etc. on the Kerala coast. Because of the favourable balance of trade, Rome had to pay in gold much against the vociferous protests of Seneca and other senators. This is also proved archaeologically by the discovery of Roman gold coins all over South India. But in addition to this monetary payment our kings and their high officials preferred Roman wine and women. Not only this is attested to by the Indian (early Tamil) literature as well as Greek literature (accounts of travellers), but also from the discovery, during the last 30 years, of Roman wine amphoras (besides Roman gods and goddesses) from such ancient city sites as Arikamedu and Kolhapur, and from the Buddhist monasteries at Devnimori in Gujarat and Nagarjunakonda in Andhra Pradesh. The Roman women have long since disappeared, like many other foreigners. Not only our love for "Phorin" can be traced back to this period, but we can well account for such scenes in our epics and Purāṇas, though the tendency among orthodox scholars is to regard this as a legacy of the Vedic way of life. No doubt, wine was drunk, and a young one of a cow-calf-specially killed and its meat offered to a honoured guest as *madhuparka*. But there is a world of difference between this modest reception and the reception given to Bharata and his three widowed mothers by the sage Bharadvāja, in his *āśrama* near Allahabad.

RĀJARĀJA I AND JATĀCODA BHĪMA

S. SANKARANARAYANAN

The Coḷa and the Eastern Cālukyan epigraphs, especially, the Tiruvalangadu plates¹, the Kanchi* Kailasanatha temple inscription² and Śaktivarman's Charters³ give us to understand as follows: The Coḷa King Rājarāja I interfered in the Eastern Cālukyan politics in favour of Śaktivarman and his younger brother Vimalāditya. He fought with the Telugu Coḷa king Bhīma, the usurper of the Eastern Cālukya throne, vanquished the usurper and helped Saktivarman to get back the Veṅgī kingdom by 999 A. D. and to put an end to the Eastern Cālukyan interregnum of 27 years in Veṅgī. There prevail two opposite views among the scholars regarding the details of the wars fought by the Coḷas and the Telugu Coḷas and regarding the date of the final fall of Bhīma.⁴ This is mainly due to the fact that the Kailasanatha temple inscription is badly mutilated and sadly fragmentary. The aim of the present paper is to examine the problem briefly and to try to find a solution.

The above mentioned inscription is mainly a Sanskrit record with some Telugu passages all in praise of Coḷa Bhīma. It ends with a short and partly preserved Tamil sentence :

[1*] *p-pariṣ-ulla ivanai śrī-ko-Rā [jarājakesarivarman*] koṇḍār.*⁵

Scholars, like K. V. S. Aiyer, C. R. Krishnamacharlu, who were first to deal with the record in detail, took the date of the record to be

1 *Sou. Ind. Ins.*, Vol. III, pp. 284 ff.

* [Now called 'Kanchipuram'.—Ed.]

2 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 29 ff.

3 See e. g. the Telugu Academy plates of Śaktivarman, *ibid.*, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 191 ff.

4 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 30 ff. ; K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cholas*, 1st Ed., 1935, pp. 218 ff. ; N. Venkataramanayya, *Eastern Chālukyas of Veṅgī*, 1950, pp. 199 ff.

5 Here *pariṣu* means "honour". Cf. *Paṅkamir* = *Rakkanum Eccanum pariṣ* = *aliyap* = *poṅgiya śrī pāḍi nam pāvalli koyyāmo* in the *Tiruppāvalli*, 15. The restoration

Śaka 923 or 1001-02 A. D. and they ascribed the inscription, on the basis of the above quoted Tamil sentence, at the end, to the Coḷa king Rājarāja I.¹ But writers like B. V. Krishna Rao, Dr. N. Venkataramanayya attributed the epigraph, on the basis of its *praśasti* portion, to Coḷa Bhīma himself.² By way of explaining the presence of Bhīma's record in Kanchi they remarked : Though Rājarāja drove out Bhīma, conquered Veṅgī and helped Śaktivarman to get back his ancestral throne in 999 A. D., Bhīma subsequently collected his forces from his Kaliṅga dominions and managed soon not only to retaliate the enemy armies, but also to over-run easily as far south as Kāñcī itself, the secondary Coḷa capital, and he occupied it for some time in 1001-02 A. D. But he was subsequently vanquished by the combined forces of the Coḷas and the Eastern Cālukyas.

K. A. Nilakanta Sastri first adhered to the first school of thought,³ but subsequently got himself converted to the second school.⁴ According to his second revised view the Kailasanatha temple *praśasti* belongs to the reign of Bhīma himself while the last sentence in Tamil was subsequently added to it during the time of Rājarāja.⁵ Other scholars are also naturally more or less of the same view.⁶

But it may be observed that there are difficulties in accepting the theory of the second school. In the first place, we have got in and around Kanchi many inscriptions of Rājarāja I, dated in his 16th, 17th and 18th regnal years,⁷ indicating that the Kāñcī region had been

of the last sentence of the Kailasanatha temple record as *ivaṇai śrī-ko-Rājasimheśvara...koṇḍār* is to be discarded as it gives no satisfactory sense. Cf. *Journ. Andh. Hist. Res. Soc.*, Vol. X, pp. 22, 25.

1 *Ann. Rep. Ep.*, 1930-31, pp. 41 ff. ; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 29 ff.

2 *Journ. Andh. Hist. Res. Soc.*, Vol. X, pp. 16 ff. ; N. Venkataramanayya, *op. cit.*, pp. 210 ff.

3 *Op. cit.*, 1st Ed., 1935, pp. 217 ff.

4 *Ibid.*, 2nd Ed., 1955, pp. 180-81.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 192.

6 See e. g. Sadasiva Pandarattar, *Hist. of the Later Cholas*, 3rd Ed., 1958, p. 118 ; Sri H. K. Narasimhasvami, *JTA*, Vol. II, Part 3, p. iv.

7 *Ann. Rep. Ep.*, 1888, No. 39 ; 1898, No. 54 ; 1910, No. 201 ; 1921, No. 78 ; 1923, No. 189 ; 1923, Nos. 66, 71.

under the effective Coḷa control in 1001-03 A. D. On the other hand, excepting the present doubtful Kailasanatha temple *praśasti*, not a single record, ascribable to Bhīma, has so far come from this area. So the theory of Bhīma's occupation of Kanchi in 1001-02 A. D. requires much stronger evidence than the *praśasti* in question.

Secondly, as we have already seen, Rājarāja had conquered Veṅḡ by 999 A. D. Śaktivarman too ascended the throne in the same year in Veṅḡ. The latter's records go to tell us that he came to power after killing Cōḍa Bhīma.¹ Hence one may have to think twice before ascribing an epigraph of 1001-02 A. D. to Bhīma.

In fact, the passage that gives the Śaka date of the Kailasanatha temple *praśasti* seems to deserve more careful examination. The extant portion reads: *ka-nṛpa-nava-śata-saṁkhyā-vi.....ṣu yāteṣu tribhir = adhikeṣu*, etc. (Sect. I, line 8). The editor of the record took the letter *vi* following *saṁkhyā* for the first letter of the lost word *vimśati* meaning "20" and concluded that the year intended was Śaka 923. But the students of Sanskrit may be aware that *nava-sata-saṁkhyā-vimśati* is not a happy compound and is not met with anywhere in epigraphs. Hence *vi* may better be taken as the only available first letter of an expression like *viśiṣṭeṣu*, now lost. So the intended reading of the passage would be something like *śaka-nṛpān = nava-śata-saṁkhyā-viśiṣṭeṣu varṣeṣu yāteṣu tribhir = adhikeṣu*. Thus the date of the *praśasti* may be only Śaka 903 or 981-82 A. D., a year which fell during the reign not of Rājarāja but of his predecessor Parakesari Uttama Coḷa. But once again we have to bear in mind that we have got, from Kanchi itself and from further north too, records dated in the 15th and 16th years of Uttama Coḷa's reign (i. e. 983-84 A. D.).² We do not know whether Uttama was strong enough to wrest back Kāñcī from such a powerful Cōḍa Bhīma. Nowhere in the Cōḷa records that king has been credited with any such spectacular achievement.

Thirdly, whatever may be the date, the mere presence of Bhīma's *praśasti* in Kanchi, cannot by itself prove that the place was under the control of Bhīma. In this context it is good to bear in mind that Kanchi

1 K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *op. cit.*, 1st Ed., p. 208 ; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXVI, p. 195, lines 4 ff.

2 *Ann. Rep. Ep.*, 1906, Nos. 1, 2, 3 ; 1912, Nos. 166, 245.

is an important centre of pilgrimage, like Draksharama, Gaya, etc., wherefrom we have got inscriptions of kings who never ruled over those places.¹ In Kanchi itself in the Arulalaperumal temple there are two Eastern Gaṅga epigraphs belonging to a period when the place was under the Coḷa rule.² Scholars have rightly held that these records are pilgrim records of the respective monarchs. In the same way, the Kailasanatha temple record also is to be taken only as a pilgrim record, even if it is to be ascribed to Coḷa Bhīma.

Fourthly, in the *praśasti* under question we find references to Coḷa Bhīma's victory over the Vaidumbas, Eastern Gaṅgas and of his annexation of Kaliṅga and Andhra countries. His association with the Raṣtrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III is also referred to. Strangely enough, the *praśasti* mentions neither Bhīma's victory over the Coḷas nor his annexation of Kāñcī. There is not even a casual reference to either Kāñcī or to any deity therein. This silence stands indeed in the way of one viewing the epigraph even as a record of Bhīma's pilgrimage to Kāñcī (either by himself or through a proxy) not to speak of viewing it as an evidence to his conquest and occupation of the place. What is much more strange is this.

The *praśasti* seems to have been composed to commemorate some of Bhīma's benefactions to the temple of a deity bearing the name Bhīmeśvara. The *praśasti* commences with an interrogative sentence implying that none can be equal to Coḷa Trinetra (i. e. Coḷa Bhīma) who had donated something to Bhīmeśvara.³ Again Bhīma seems to be described as having set up something, on the date of *praśasti* in front of the *Bhagavat Paramēśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka Śrīmat Bhīmeśvara*.⁴ Further, his gift of jewels to the same deity is also perhaps referred to.⁵ But, at the same time, we do not find, nor hear about the

1 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 101 ff. ; Vol. XXXII, pp. 103 ff.

2 *Ibid.*, Vol XXXI, pp. 94 ff., pp. 99 ff.

3 Cf. [*Bhī*] *meśvarāya dadatā vadatā ka eva Coḷa-Trinetra-patinā samānaḥ* (Sect. I, line 1).

4 Cf. *Bhagavataḥ Paramēśvarasya Paramabhaṭṭāraksya Śrī-mad=Bhīmeśva* [*rasya*] *nydhāt=purastāt* (Sect. I, lines 7-8).

5 Cf. *Jatā Coḷa-nṛpatiḥ s[v]asya āpādyā ca tasya bhūṣaṇa-cayaṁ Bhī* [*meśvarasya*] (Sect. II, lines 21-22).

existence of, any Bhīmeśvara temple either in Kāñcī or in its neighbourhood. Therefore taking into account the expression *Ḍākarambi* occurring in the record,¹ one may identify the deity Bhīmeśvara of the *praśasti* with His famous namesake in Draksharama in the East Godavari District. For *Ḍākarambi* like *Ḍākarami* is a name of Draksharama as often indicated by the records from that place.² Thus, it would appear as if what we have in the Kailasanatha temple at Kanchi is actually a Draksharama Bhīmeśvara temple *praśasti* of Bhīma. Hence, it can by no means indicate Bhīma's occupation of Kāñcī.

Now, naturally arises a question : How to account then for the existence of a Draksharama epigraph at Kanchi ? To answer this pertinent question it is good to remember an important aspect of the literary tradition that prevailed at Kāñcī during the age in question. It is known that *Ācārya* Dandin* was a famous Sanskrit poet born in Kāñcī and was closely associated with the Pallava Court.³ In his well-known work on poetics, viz. *Kāvyādarśa*, he speaks of his special liking to the mode of describing a hero (*nāyaka*) by representing him as a conqueror of an adversary or villain (*pratināyaka*) whose high pedigree, great virtues, heroism, etc., are to be first narrated at length.⁴ Vidyānātha of Pratāparudra's court also subscribes to the same view.⁵ The popularity of Dandin's poetics in Tamil Nadu, especially during the time of the Coḷas is vouched for by the famous Tamil work *Daṇḍiyalaṅkāram* on poetics. Bearing in mind these facts one may suggest this : A Coḷa panegyrist of Kāñcī, who was naturally more at home in Tamil than in Sanskrit or Telugu, was perhaps bent upon praising his hero Rājarāja I in the said fashion, viz. by narrating in detail the high

1 Cf. Sect. II, line 47.

2 Cf. *Sou. Ind. Ins.*, Vol., IV, Nos. 1016, 1030, 1102, 1104, 1108, etc. Cf. the synonymous expressions *Karāmbicceḍu* and *Kāramiceḍu* met with in inscriptions (*ibid.*, Vol. VII, No. 737 ; *Ann. Rep. Ep.*, 1930-31, p. 46).

* [Read. 'Daṇḍin' here and also below.—Ed.]

3 See *Avantisundarī* (Trivandrum Skt. Series, No. 172), Introd., pp. 4-5.

4 Cf. *Varṇa-vīrya-śrut-ādīni varṇayitvā ripor = api/ taj-jayān = nāyak-otkarṣa-varṇanāni ca dhinoti naḥ* (*Kāvyādarśa*, I, Verse 22). See also the commentaries thereunder.

5 See *Pratāparudrīya*, I, Verse 68.

family descendance, virtues, prowess, etc., of Coḍa Bhīma i. e. the *pratināyaka* and then representing Rājarāja, i. e. the *nāyaka*, as a vanquisher of the former. But at the same time he felt, as it were, too loyal to his hero to write himself on the greatness of the adversary. Therefore, instead of composing afresh a *praśasti* of Bhīma, the author seems to have found it very convenient to copy and reproduce in toto, in Grantha, at Kāñcī, an already available ready-made *praśasti*, dated in Śaka 903, of that king, found engraved in Draksharama. To the above *praśasti* he simply added his own sentence in Tamil quoted above. This suggestion seems to receive support from the wrongly spelt Sanskrit and Telugu expressions of the *praśasti* which was originally engraved in the Telugu-Kannada script and which the author obviously could not make out well.

It may also get further support from the fact that Coḍa Bhīma is praised in the *praśasti* as having been born in his previous incarnations, not only as the Pāṇḍava hero Bhīma, the destroyer of the Kauravas in the Dvāparayuga, but also as Rāvaṇa in the Tretāyuga.¹ The Indian literary convention demands that the hero of a *praśasti* should be praised only as having been born as Rāma in the Tretāyuga.² Probably the Cōḷa panegyrist changed *Tretāyuge Rāghavaḥ* of the original into *Tretāyuge Rāvaṇaḥ* simply to bring home to the readers the fact that in the present *praśasti* Bhīma was only a *pratināyaka* (and not *nāyaka*) like Rāvaṇa in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. This idea can be better appreciated if one remembers the fact that a copper-plate charter of Śaktivarman, Rājarāja's Eastern Cālukya ally, pictures Coḍa Bhīma as Rāvaṇa while the Tiruvalangadu plates seem to refer to him as the very Bhīma of the *Mahābhārata*.³

Thus, on the basis of what we have discussed so far, it is not necessary to assume that Jaṭā Coḍa Bhīma outlived the Coḷa conquest of Veṅgī in 999 A. D. and was occupying Kāñcī in 1001-02 A. D.*

1 Sect. I, line 9.

2 Cf. e. g. *yaś=Tretāyām Raghupatir=abhat sa jayati Kalau Vira-Rudrāvatārah, Vidyānātha, op. cit., I, Verse 22.*

3 See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXVI, p. 178, Verse 22 ; *Sou Ind. Ins.*, Vol. III, p. 398, Verse 82.

* Read 'Kailasanatha' for 'Kaliasanatha' in p. 342, line 16, 'vīmśati' for 'vīmśatī' in p. 343, lines 15 and 17, 'śata' for 'sata' in p. 343, line 17, 'Coḍa' for 'Cōḍa' in p. 343, lines 9 and 27 and 'Coḷa' for 'Cōḷa' in p. 343, line 28.

RĀJAS'EKHARA, TRIPURĪ AND THE KALACURIS

AJAY MITRA SHASTRI

RĀJAS'EKHARA WAS ONE of the greatest poets and dramatists of his time (last quarter of the ninth and first half of the tenth century A. D.). He had equal command over Sanskrit and Prakrit. At present five of his numerous works are partially or fully extant. Of these, the *Bālarāmāyaṇa* and the *Bālabhārata* or *Pracaṇḍapāṇḍava*, of which latter only a couple of acts are preserved, are based respectively on the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*. The Prakrit play (*saṭṭaka*) *Karpūra-mañjarī* and the Sanskrit drama (*nāṭikā*) *Viddhaśālabhaṇjikā* draw upon, like the *Priyadarśikā* and the *Ratnāvalī* of Harṣavardhana, love-intrigues of the royal harem.¹ Only one of the eighteen sections (*adhikaraṇas*) of his celebrated work on poetics, *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*, has come down to us. In addition to these Rājaśekhara had composed several other works. In the prologue to his *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, we come across a reference to the six *prabandhas* (works) composed by him earlier.² The well-known Jain writer Hemacandra mentions his poem captioned *Haravilāsa*.³ It is held by some that he also composed a work entitled *Bhuvanakośa*.⁴ But these writings are no longer extant. Numerous sayings (*subhāṣitas*), supplying valuable historical information regarding earlier literateurs and their writings, many of which would have otherwise remained unknown, attributed to Rājaśekhara, are found scattered in several Sanskrit anthologies.

Fortunately for us, sufficient information about the life, age and family of Rājaśekhara is available in the prologues of his own plays

- 1 Some scholars regard these plays as based upon some otherwise unknown important events in the history of the Gurjara-Pratihāras and Kalacuris respectively. But in the present state of our knowledge it is difficult to determine the veracity of this opinion.
- 2 *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, Varanasi, 1869, I. 12.
- 3 *Kāvya-anuśāsana*, ed. Rasiklal Parikh, Bombay, 1938, Vol. I, pp. 456-57 (Verses 609, 615).
- 4 V. V. Mirashi, *Corps. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. IV—*Inscriptions of the Kalacuri-Cedi Era*, Introduction, p. clxxvi; *A History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. IV—*The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, ed. R. C. Majumdar, p. 180. But this opinion does not appear

and a few stanzas found in anthologies. He belonged to the Yāyāvara family,¹ and his ancestors originally hailed from Maharashtra.² He has mentioned four of his ancestors, viz. Akālajalada, Surānanda, Tarala and Kavirāja, all of whom were good poets.³ Unfortunately, their works have not come down to us. Rājaśekhara was the son of Dubika or Durduka and Śīlavatī.⁴ His father Duhika was a chief minister of some king. Although Rājaśekhara was himself a Brāhmaṇa by birth, he married a lady named Avantisundarī who was born in the Cāhamāna (Cāhuāṇa) family.⁵ She was a learned lady and it was at her behest that his Prakrit play *Karpūramañjarī* was staged. Her views on poetic questions are quoted at three places in the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*.⁶

It seems that Rājaśekhara's ancestors moved to the Cedi country in search of royal patronage. In a *subhāṣita* ascribed to Rājaśekhara, the river Narmadā, king Raṇavigraha and the poet Surānanda are described as the adornments of the Cedi country.⁷ We learn from the Cambay⁸ and Sangli⁹ copper-plate charters of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Govinda IV that Raṇavigraha was a *viruda* of Śaṅkaragaṇa II, a Kalacuri king of Tripurī. It is thus obvious that Surānanda was a contemporary of Śaṅkaragaṇa II and enjoyed the latter's patronage.

to be based upon reliable evidence. We learn from the first chapter of the only extant *adhikaraṇa* of the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* that Bhuvanakośa was in reality the title of the concluding chapter of this *adhikaraṇa* which, like the rest of the *adhikaraṇas* of the work, is no longer extant.

1 *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, I. 6, 13; *Viddhaśālabhañjikā*, ed. Jitendra Vimal [read 'Jatindra Bimal'.—Ed.] Chaudhuri, Calcutta, 1943, p. 15; *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*, *Gaek. Or. Ser.*, No. 1, 3rd Ed., Baroda, 1934, p. 2.

2 *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, p. 9.

3 *Ibid.*, I. 13; *Viddhaśālabhañjikā*, p. 16.

4 *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, p. 9; *Bālabhārata*, Chaukhamba Ed., Varanasi, 1969, p. 7; *Viddhaśālabhañjikā*, p. 15.

5 *Karpūramañjarī*, ed. Sten Konow and C. R. Lanman, Delhi, 1963, I. 11.

6 *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*, pp. 20, 46, 57.

7 *Nadinām Mekhala-sutā nṛpāṇām Raṇavigrahaḥ/*

Kavīnām ca Surānandaḥ=Cedī—maṇḍala—maṇḍanam/(*Śāktimuktāvalī*, p. 47).

8 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 38.

9 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 250.

RĀJAS'EKHARA, TRIPURĪ AND THE KALACURIS

Although Rājaśekhara himself, attracted by the fame and grandeur of the Gurjara-Pratihāra empire, went over to the imperial metropolis Kanauj,¹ his hereditary attachment to Tripurī remained intact. In his *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, which was staged in the court of the Pratihāra emperor Mahendrapāla I, Rājaśekhara states that the Caidya king of Tripurī also attended the *svayamvara* of Sītā. Describing the origin of Tripurī it is averred that a portion of the three cities of the demons, when put aflame by lord Śiva, fell on the earth and the city made of this portion came to be styled Tripurī.² It is pertinent to note in this connection that the *Vālmikīya Rāmāyaṇa* is not aware of any such tradition, and the available archaeological evidence also clearly indicates that the antiquity of Tripurī does not go beyond *circa* 1000 B. C. We may thus reasonably conclude that the *Bālarāmāyaṇa* reference in question is only a figment of poetic imagination. But it does indicate the extraordinary importance of the extensive Kalacuri empire in contemporary Indian politics and Rājaśekhara's attachment to it.³

Another statement of Rājaśekhara is of some value from the point of view of the ancient history of Tripurī. It is commonly believed that the ancient Tripurī comprised of only the localities presently known as Tewar and Hathiagarh. But at one place in the *Viddhaśālabhaṇjikā* Tripurī is described as resounding with the waves of the river Narmadā,⁴ which leaves no room for doubt that in the age of

1 In the prologues of all the plays of Rājaśekhara, he is described as the teacher (*upādhyāya*) of the Pratihāra emperor Mahendrapāla I (*Bālarāmāyaṇa*, I. 18; *Bālabhārata*, I. 11; *Karpūramañjarī*, I. 5; *Viddhaśālabhaṇjikā*, I. 7). The *Bālabhārata* was composed under the patronage of Mahīpāla, son and successor of Mahendrapāla (*Bālabhārata*, I. 7). It was to be staged in the presence of the learned spectators of Mahodaya-nagarī (Kanauj).

2 *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, III. 38.

3 It is worth remembering in this connection that in the account of Sītā's *svayamvara* Rājaśekhara does not refer to even the king of Kānyakubja (Kanauj), even though this city enjoyed the status of the most important political nerve centre ever since the time of the Puṣyabhūti king Harṣavardhana.

4 *Viddhaśālabhaṇjikā*, IV. 21. Rājaśekhara speaks of Kuvalayamālā emerging from the Narmadā after bathing as being seen by the Kalacuri king Yuvarājadeva Keyūravaraṣa (*ibid.*, p. 29). This event also must have taken place at Tripurī, the Kalacuri capital.

Rājaśekhara the city of Tripurī extended right up to the banks of the Narmadā and the locality now called Bheraghat formed its inseparable part. This view also finds some support from a few Kalacuri inscriptions which aver unequivocally that Tripurī was situated on the banks of the Narmadā. Some records speak of Kalacuri kings or queens as taking bath in the Revā, i.e. Narmadā.¹

While at the Gurjara-Pratihāra court at Kanauj, Rājaśekhara composed the *Bālarāmayāna* and the *Karpūramañjarī* during the reign of his disciple Mahendrapāla I² and *Pracaṇḍapāṇḍava* or *Bālabhārata* during that of Mahendrapāla's son and successor, Mahīpāla.³ This fact is mentioned in the prologues of these plays. Thereafter during the latter part of the reign of Mahīpāla or sometime after his demise when the Pratihāra power was on the decline he came over to Tripurī in search of suitable royal patronage and joined the royal court under the Kalacuri king Yuvarājadeva I and, while staying there, composed the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā*, as we learn from its prologue. It is stated there that the play was staged at the behest of the court (*parīṣad*) of the illustrious Yuvarājadeva. From the employment at two places of the name Keyūravarṣa⁴ it is apparent that the playwright had in his mind Yuvarājadeva I, and not the second ruler bearing this name.⁵

1 Mirashi, *Op. cit.*, p. 328, text-line 26 ; p. 350, Verses 4-5 ; p. 659. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 364.

2 According to some, the theme of the *Karpūramañjarī* is based on the events of Mahīpāla's reign. But the fact that its prologue refers to Mahendrapāla only while there is no mention of Mahīpāla is enough to indicate that it was composed during the former's reign.

3 It is believed by some that the *Bālabhārata* was the last work of Rājaśekhara who composed it after the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* when he had come back from Yuvarājadeva's court to the Pratihāra capital, Kanauj. See A. B. Keith, *Sanskrit Drama*, p. 232 ; Buddha Prakash, *Umesh Mishra Commemoration Volume*, Allahabad, 1970, pp. 374-75. But it does not seem probable ; for in view of the description of Yuvarājadeva's conquests it is certain that the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* was composed during the latter part of his reign and Mahīpāla was already dead by that time. For an account of Mahīpāla's reign, see Dasharatha Sharma, *Rajasthan Through The Ages*, Vol. I, Bikaner, 1966, pp. 169-87.

4 Some manuscripts give the variant reading Karpūravarṣa.

5 In Verse 24 of the Bilhari stone inscription the name Keyūravarṣa is found employed for Yuvarājadeva I (Mirashi, *op. cit.*, p. 211).

Not only that, all the historians are agreed on the point that Rājasekhara made his patron Yuvarājadeva I the hero of this drama,¹ and this view is fully justified by its internal evidence. Yuvarājadeva is, in this play, styled *Khalaculi-tilaka* or *Karaculi-tilaka*,² which is undoubtedly a corrupt form of *Kalacuri-tilaka*. The name Vidyādharamalla is also employed for him.³ But it appears to be a figment of poetic imagination as it is conspicuous by its absence in inscriptions or other sources. Besides, there is considerable similarity in the description of the conquests and matrimonial relations of Yuvarājadeva as found in this play as well as Kalacuri inscriptions. The Bilhari inscription of Yuvarājadeva I speaks of the latter's amorous sport with the ladies of Gauḍa, Karnāṭa, Lāṭa, Kāśmīra and Kaliṅga,⁴ which probably means that he won victories over the contemporary rulers of Bengal, Mysore, Gujarat, Kashmir and Orissa and married ladies of those provinces. In another stanza of the same epigraph, we find a reference to movements of his armies and their victories over the enemies in the area between the Kailāsa in the north and Setubandha in the south and the mythical mountain of sunrise (Udayācala) in the east and the Arabian ocean in the west.⁵ Almost the same description is met with in the *Viddhaśālabhaṇjikā*. According to this work, Yuvarājadeva had matrimonial relations with the princesses of Magadha, Mālava, Pañcāla, Avanti, Jālandhara and Kerala.⁶ We also find mention of the defeat by his armies of the confederate rulers of Karnāṭa, Siṃhala, Pāṇḍya, Malaya, Andhra, Kuntala, Koṅkaṇa, etc.⁷ He is further styled *Ujjayinī-bhujāṅga* (verily a serpent

1 See E. Hultzsch, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIV (1905), pp. 177-79; Dasharatha Sharma, *ibid.*, Vol. LX (1931), pp. 61-63; Mirashi, *ibid.*, Vol. LXII (1933), pp. 35-37; *Corps. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. IV, Introduction, pp. lxxix-lxxxiii; A. S. Altekar, *Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their Times*, p. 110; Buddha Prakash, *Dr. Mirashi Felicitation Volume*, Nagpur, 1965, pp. 413-23; *Umesh Mishra Commemoration Volume*, pp. 371-72.

2 *Viddhaśālabhaṇjikā*, Act IV, pp. 221, 224, Verse 24.

3 *Ibid.*, Act I, p. 21; Act II, Verse 19; Act III, pp. 156, 173.

4 *Corps. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 211 (Verse 24).

5 *Ibid.*, p. 211 (Verse 27).

6 *Op. cit.*, pp. 181-82.

7 *Ibid.*, pp. 222-23.

to Ujjayinī¹ and *Vatsādhīpa* (lord of the Vatsa country).² We are further told that after conquering all the important monarchs in the four directions he secured for himself the status of a universal monarch (*cakravartin*) in the entire region extending from the eastern sea (i.e., Bay of Bengal), sanctified by the emptying of the Ganges, to the western ocean (Arabian sea), the beloved of the daughter of the moon, viz. Narmadā, and from the river Tāmraparṇī in the south to the ocean of milk (Kṣīrāmbhodhi) in the north.³ In the Banaras plates of Kalacuri Karṇa⁴ as well as in the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā*,⁵ Yuvarājadeva is referred to as *Parameśvara*, a title indicative of imperial status. Another title *Trikaliṅgādhipati*, indicative of influence in Orissa and Andhra Pradesh, is, for the first time, employed for Karṇa in the Kalacuri records.⁶ However, we learn from the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* that this title was borne much earlier by Yuvarājadeva.⁷ Although this description is undoubtedly highly exaggerated, the extraordinarily close similarity in the accounts of the achievements of Yuvarājadeva Keyūravarṣa found in epigraphic records and in the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* cannot be denied.

Some scholars go a step further and believe that the story of the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* is based upon some important historical events of the reign of Yuvarājadeva and that it throws welcome light on Kalacuri-Rāṣṭrakūṭa relations. It will be convenient to narrate the story in brief before we embark upon a detailed discussion of this question.

Removed from the kingdom by his relatives, the Kuntala king Vīrapāla Caṇḍamahāsena came to the court of Yuvarājadeva Keyūravarṣa with the object of securing the latter's help in regaining his throne. Seeing the former's daughter Kuvalayamālā emerging from the Narmadā after bath, Yuvarājadeva was attracted towards her.

1 *Ibid.*, Act I, p. 21.

2 *Ibid.*, Act IV, p. 220.

3 *Ibid.*, Act IV, Verse 24.

4 *Corps. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 242, Verse 16.

5 *Viddhaśālabhañjikā*, p. 184.

6 *Corps. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 244, text-line 34.

7 In the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* (Act I, p. 73 ; Act IV, p. 214), Yuvarājadeva is styled *Triliṅgādhipati*, which is undoubtedly a corrupt form of *Trikaliṅgādhipati*.

On the other side, the Lāṭa (central and southern Gujarat) king Candravarman, maternal uncle of Yuvarājadeva's queen Madanavatī, had no son and as such brought up his daughter named Mṛgāṅkāvalī as son under the name Mṛgāṅkavarman. The astrologers had predicted that the consort of Mṛgāṅkāvalī would attain the position of a *cakravartin*. Having come to know this secret through spies, Yuvarājadeva's minister Bhāgurāyaṇa had her somehow brought to Tripurī and kept her in the harem with the queen with the intention of getting her married to his master. Being unaware of this secret, the queen decided to marry Kuvalayamālā to Mṛgāṅkavarman so that the former could be kept away from the king. For the sake of amusement the queen often had Mṛgāṅkavarman dressed as a lady. When dressed in this manner she was once seen from within a hollow (*viddha*) column by Yuvarājadeva who was attracted towards her (Mṛgāṅkāvalī disguised as Mṛgāṅkavarman). Thereafter she was seen by the king several times : sometimes swinging, sometimes painted on a crystal wall, sometimes beyond a transparent crystal wall, sometimes playing with a ball and sometimes in the form of a *śāla-bhaṅjikā* resembling her. They met each other several times and thus their mutual attachment grew gradually. With the object of taunting the king for running after women and avenging the insult of her maid the queen Madanavatī sent a message to the king that Mṛgāṅkavarman's sister Mṛgāṅkāvalī had come to see her brother, that her (the queen's) maternal uncle and aunt had asked her to find out a suitable bridegroom for her (Mṛgāṅkāvalī), that the astrologers had prophesied that one who marries her would become a *cakravartin* monarch and that it was difficult to have a better bridegroom than the king himself and arranged a mock marriage of Mṛgāṅkavarman with the king. They had hardly gone round the fire and the *lājā-homa* performed as part of the marriage ceremony when a messenger of Candravarman came over there and gave his master's message that a son had been born to Candravarman and that consequently Mṛgāṅkāvalī, who, in the absence of a son was brought up like a son, may be married to a suitable man. Now, the queen, who was all the while under the impression that by arranging the marriage of Mṛgāṅkavarman with the king she had shown low the latter, found herself forced accord her

consent to this marriage. At this the Vidūṣaka said that according to Dharmaśāstras the wife, the slave and the son are not entitled to wealth and whatever wealth they might acquire actually belongs to him whom they themselves belong, and as Mṛgāṅkavarman had already been married to the king, Kuvalayamālā, who was to be married to Mṛgāṅkavarman, also belonged to his dear friend (the king) and accordingly Kuvalayamālā was also married to the king. Just at this moment a messenger of *Senāpati Śrīvatsa* arrived there with the latter's letter which stated that owing to the favour of *Kalacuri-kula-tilaka*¹ (i.e. Yuvarājadeva), the sharp intellect of the minister Bhāgurāyaṇa and the obedience of the armies all the rulers of the east, west and north had already been defeated and that only the monarchs of the southern quarter remained to be won over ; that at the king's orders the army, keeping the Kuntala king Vīrapāla, who, having been dethroned by his relatives, had sought the king's refuge, in front, pitched its camp in the proximity² of the river Payoṣṇī and having defeated there in battle the confederate rulers of Karnaṭa, Sindhala, Pāṇḍya, Malaya, Andhra, Kuntala, Koṅkaṇa, etc. reinstated Vīrapāla in his own kingdom. In consequence of these victories Yuvarājadeva rose to the status of a *cakravartin* and in celebration thereof the *Viddhaśālabhaṇjikā* was staged at Tripurī at the orders of the assembly (*pariṣad*) of Yuvarājadeva.

E. Hultsch identified the hero of the play with the Kalacuri king Yuvarājadeva Keyūraravaṣa, but he did not make any attempt to identify his so-called contemporary Lāṭa king Candravarman and the Kuntala king Vīrapāla Caṇḍamahāseṇa as they are not known from any other source.³ Some forty-five years ago Dasharatha Sharma suggested, for the first time, that the theme of the *Viddhaśālabhaṇjikā* had for its basis an important episode in the Kalacuri-Rāṣṭrakūṭa history. We learn from the Deoli⁴ and Karhad⁵ plates of the

1 In the original we have the reading *Khalaculi* or *Karaculi* which is certainly intended for *Kalacuri*.

2 The original has both the readings *parisare* and *tīre*. In case the second reading is accepted, the battle took place on the bank of the Payoṣṇī.

3 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIV (1905), pp. 177-79.

4 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 194.

5 *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 283.

Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III that Govinda IV was weakened and met an untimely death because of overindulgence in sensual pleasures and at the request of the feudatories his uncle Baddiga Amoghavarṣa III ascended the throne in order to maintain the glory of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa (Rāṣṭrakūṭa) kingdom. But the non-specification of the feudatory chiefs in these records and a few other evidences seem to indicate that Baddiga's accession was not as peaceful as it is made out to have been. The fact is that at the end of the reign of his nephew Govinda IV, Baddiga, with the help of feudatory chiefs, dethroned Govinda IV and captured power for himself.¹ In this connection it is noteworthy that from the time of the Kalacuri king Lakṣmaṇarāja the relations between the Kalacuris and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas were extremely friendly and there was a long chain of matrimonial relations between the two houses. Upto a major part of Yuvarājadeval's reign this traditional friendship continued as before and he gave his daughter Kundakadevī in marriage to Baddiga.² The extent of friendship can be gauged from the fact that Baddiga had even spent some time at the Kalacuri capital Tripurī. According to the Sudi³ and Kudlur⁴ copper-plate inscriptions, at the time of the marriage of his daughter Revakanimmaḍi with Permāḍi Būtuga II of the Gaṅga family, Baddiga was present at Tripurī. In the light of these facts, it would not be surprising if Yuvarājadeva helped Baddiga in capturing the Rāṣṭrakūṭa throne, though of this we have no evidence. According to Sharma, the theme of the *Viddhaśālabhaṅjikā* is woven round this episode. He thinks that the Cedis had a hand in the rebellion against Govinda IV and they probably aligned themselves with the *sāmantas* who, according to the Karhad and Deoli plates, had established Govinda IV's successor on the throne, defeated the reigning Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch and placed Amoghavarṣa III, who was Keyūravarṣa's son-in-law, on the throne. He proposed to identify Vīrapāla Caṇḍamahāsena of the play with Rāṣṭrakūṭa Baddiga Amoghavarṣa III and the heroine

1 It is stated in the Prince of Wales Museum plates of Śīlāhāra Chadvaideva that Amoghavarṣa had uprooted Govinda IV (see *ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 289, Verse 8).

2 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 263.

3 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 179, text-lines 49-51.

4 *Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department*, 1921, pp. 21-22.

Mṛgāṅkāvalī with Yuvarājadeva's queen Nohalādevī who hailed from the Caulukya family.¹ This theory was accepted by A. S. Altekar also.² At first V. V. Mirashi was not prepared to accept this opinion. He felt that Yuvarājadeva's opponent was not Govinda IV, but Baddiga Amoghavarṣa III, who had already occupied the Rāṣṭrakūṭa throne after Govinda IV's demise. Yuvarājadeva might have supported the cause of some other claimant to the throne of Kuntala and fought with Baddiga and his son Kṛṣṇa III, who might have occupied the throne with the help of the feudatories. He proposed to identify Vīrapāla with some other uncle of Govinda IV. Yuvarājadeva might have decided to extend his support to him, for he must have known it too well that, in case his son-in-law got the throne, he would be under the influence of his son Kṛṣṇa III and thereby would prove to be an obstacle in fulfilling his ambition of attaining the status of a *cakravartin*. He further identified Yuvarājadeva's queen with Nohalā, the Lāṭa king Candravarman with Nohalā's father Avantivarman and Yuvarājadeva's minister Bhāgurāyaṇa with Bhākamiśra known from epigraphic records.³ He held that Rājaśekhara might have composed the *Viddhaśālabhaṇjikā* on the occasion of Yuvarājadeva's marriage with Nohalā. But later on he accepted the theory of Sharma and Altekar and argued in support of it. On the basis of the statement in some copper-plate charters of the Śilāhāra king Aparājita that Baddiga Amoghavarṣa defeated his wicked enemies in a sanguine battle fought at the capital of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa chief Karkara⁴ and assuming the identity of Karkarāja, the lord of Acalapura, known from the Sudi and Kudlur plates to have been the enemy of Baddiga's son-in-law Būtuga II, with Karkara, he suggested that the battle described in the *Viddhaśālabhaṇjikā* took place at Acalapura situated at a distance of

1 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LX (1931), pp. 61-63.

2 *Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their Times*, p. 110.

3 *Ann. Bhand. Or. Res. Inst.*, Vol. XI (1930), pp. 361-74 ; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXII (1933), pp. 35-37.

4 *Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State*, Vol. I, p. 47 ; V.V. Mirashi, *Śilāhāra Rājavanśacā Itihāsa āṇi Korīva Lekha* (in Marathi), Nagpur, 1974, p. 25, Verses 8-9 ; pp. 35-36, Verses 8-9 (two sets of the Janjira plates of Aparājita ; the verses are identical).

some ten miles to the west of the river Purna (ancient Payoṣṇī) in the Amaravati District of Vidarbha. Having defeated in this battle Karkara and other followers of Govinda IV, the army of Yuvarājadeva advanced towards the Rāṣṭrakūṭa capital Mānyakheta (modern Malkhed, Bijapur District, Karnataka) which had already been occupied by Cālukya Arikesarin after killing Govinda IV. Thereafter the feudatory chiefs present there placed Baddiga on throne.¹

It cannot be gainsaid that the above theory has been built up very logically ; but there are some difficulties in accepting it. As we have stated above, Rājasekhara did not find it necessary to alter the name of the hero of the *Viddhaśālabhaṇjikā*, Yuvarājadeva. His other name Keyūravarṣa and the Kalacuri family to which he belonged are also clearly mentioned. In view of this, there was no necessity to modify the names of other characters of the play to such an extent as not to allow them to be clearly recognised if they were really historical personages. Secondly, a glance at the relevant portion of the *Viddhaśālabhaṇjikā* seems to indicate that Vīrapāla Caṇḍamahāsena had at first ascended the throne of Kuntala and was later removed from the kingdom by the members of his own family. In the second act of the play, it is clearly stated that there was in Kuntala a monarch named Caṇḍamahāsena who, having been removed from power, had come over to Tripurī² while the fourth act states that Kuntalādhipati Vīrapāla sought Yuvarājadeva's refuge after his kingdom was taken away by the members of his own family.³ This description is not applicable to Baddiga Amogha-varṣa. For he was not removed from the throne after his accession ; instead he had raised the standard of rebellion against his nephew Govinda IV and himself occupied the throne with the help of the feudatories. Thirdly, as we learn from Rāṣṭrakūṭa records, Baddiga was Yuvarājadeva's son-in-law. In case he is identified with Vīrapāla Caṇḍamahāsena of the play, we shall have to assume that Yuvarājadeva married the daughter of his son-in-law, which is impossible. It is

1 *Corps. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. IV, Introduction, pp. lxxix-lxxxiii.

2 *Asty-atra Kuntaleṣu Caṇḍamahāsena nāma rājā. Tasya nija rājya-paribhraṣṭasya ih-āgatasya...* (*Viddhaśālabhaṇjikā*, p. 78).

3 *Tat = kuly-āpahṛta-rājyaḥ Kuntal-ādhipat = vīrapālo nāma devam śaraṇam = āgato...* (*ibid.*, p. 222).

beyond imagination that such a hated unpopular incident would be depicted in a play staged at Yuvarājadeva's command at his capital, Tripurī. Altekar and Mirashi were aware of this difficulty ; but they argued that perhaps Rājaśekhara introduced this incident deliberately with the object of lending complexity to the love affairs depicted in the play. But the imagination of such an impossible and unpopular episode only for bringing about complexity in the theme of the play does not appear probable. This objective could have been met by introducing some other episode and Rājaśekhara was certainly quite capable of doing so. Therefore the aforesaid theory does not appear to be logical.

In view of the above-mentioned difficulty involved in the identification of Vīrapāla-Canḍamahāsenā, Buddha Prakash suggested another interpretation of the theme of the *Viddhaśālābhāṇjikā*.¹ He finds in this story the depiction of an event in the history of the Eastern Cālukyas of Andhra Pradesh. According to him, Kuntalādhipati Vīrapāla Canḍamahāsenā is identifiable with the Eastern Cālukya king Bhīma II Rājamārtaṇḍa Canḍamahendra, who had re-occupied the throne of Veṅgī in 934 A. D. He might have been aided by Kalacuri Yuvarājadeva in securing the kingdom against the wishes of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. In the opinion of Buddha Prakash this incident is indicative of a change in the traditional friendly relations between the Kalacuris and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.

There is undoubtedly some similarity between the events of the reign of Bhīma II and the description of Vīrapāla in the play in question. Like Vīrapāla, Bhīma II also was, after his accession, deprived of his kingdom by his own relatives and he reoccupied it after defeating his enemies. There is also sufficient similarity between the names Canḍamahendra and Canḍamahāsenā. But this view also does not appear to be probable, for the dominions of the Eastern Cālukyas were not commonly known as Kuntala. This name was generally applied to the Kolhapur, Satara and Sholapur districts of Maharashtra and the adjoining Kannada-speaking area of Karnataka.²

1 Dr. Mirashi Felicitation Volume (Nagpur, 1965), pp. 415-17 ; Umesh Mishra Commemoration Volume, pp. 371-72.

2 V. V. Mirashi, *Corps. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. V—*Inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas*, pp. xxx, xxxii, 107.

In this context it is noteworthy that the Pandarangapalli plates describe Mānānka, the founder of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kingdom in southern Maharashtra, as the ruler of Kuntala.¹ In many an inscription the kingdom of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas is spoken of as Kuntala. Rājaśekhara himself states that a king named Vallabharāja ruled in Kuntala situated in Dakṣiṇāpatha.² By Vallabharāja are clearly intended Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarchs. Muslim historians call them Balhara which is a corrupt form of Vallabharāja. Rājaśekhara avers elsewhere that there is a city called Vacchoma (Skt. Vatsagulma, modern Washim, Akola District, Maharashtra) in the Kuntala country and there rules a monarch named Vallabharāja.³ Here Vacchoma is included in Kuntala probably because it formed part of the dominions of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas who were known as rulers of Kuntala. Buddha Prakash's view that when Rājaśekhara employs the name Kuntala in plural he means to refer to all the kingdoms of the South⁴ is not correct ; for the use of names of countries in plural was common in Sanskrit. In the aforesaid Pandarangapalli plates also the name Kuntala is used in genitive plural.

It is obvious from the foregoing discussion that although the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* affords some historical information about the reign of the Kalacuri king Keyūravarṣa Yuvarājadeva, yet in the present state of insufficient information its theme appears to be born of dramatist's fertile imaginative mind and not based on any historical episode. And even if there was some historical incident at the root of the play, it is difficult to ascertain it at the moment and the unravelling of this mystery must await future discovery.

Rājaśekhara was undoubtedly the greatest poet of the Kalacuri

1 V. V. Mirashi, *Studies in Indology*, Vol. IV (Varanasi, 1966), p. 134, text-line 2.

2 *Atthi ettha Dakkhināvadhe Kuntalesuṃ saala-jaṇa-vallaho Vallaharāo nāma rāā* (*Karpāramañjarī*, Nirnay Sagar Press Ed., p. 32).

The statement of Buddha Prakash that Rājaśekhara has here identified Dakṣiṇāpatha with Kimtala (*Dr. Mirashi Felicitation Volume*, p. 417) is not correct. Really speaking, according to ancient Indian geographical tradition Kuntala was situated in Dakṣiṇāpatha, and the same thing is stated by Rājaśekhara.

3 *Atthi ettha Vacchomaṃ nāma ṇaaraṃ Kuntalesu. Tahim saala-jaṇa-vallaho Vallaharāo nāma rāā* (*Karpāramañjarī*, p. 34).

4 *Dr. Mirashi Felicitation Volume*, p. 417.

court and considerably influenced the poets of the Cedi country. One verse each from his *Bālarāmāyaṇa*¹ and *Bālabhārata*² is found cited in some Kalacuri inscriptions. In the Bilhari inscription of the time of Yuvarājadeva II we find imitation of Rājaśekhara's attachment to the *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre and the poetic quality *samādhi* and the mention of the names of the different parts of India under some or other pretext.³ Not only that, but at the end of the inscription there is a clear reference to Rājaśekhara. It is stated there that 'this *praśasti* is worthy of praise even by that astonished poet Rājaśekhara' or that 'even that astonished poet Rājaśekhara has praised this *praśasti*'.⁴ It follows from this that Rājaśekhara enjoyed a long life and adorned the Kalacuri court during the reign of Yuvarājadeva II also. If this is accepted, the notion of some scholars that after the composition of the *Viddhaśālabhaṇjikā* Rājaśekhara again left for Kanauj where he wrote the *Bālabhārata* under the patronage of the Pratihāra emperor Mahīpāla stands automatically refuted.

- 1 *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, I. 22. This verse is found quoted in some copper-plate charters of the Kalacuris of Ratanpur. Cf. *Corps. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 425, Verse 2.
- 2 *Bālabhārata*, I. 62. This verse is cited in the Banaras plates of Karṇa (*Corps. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. IV, pp. 242-43, Verse 18).
- 3 *Ibid.*, p. 208.
- 4 *Su-śliṣṭa-bandha-ghaṭanā-vismīta-kavi-Rājaśekhara-stutyā* (*ibid.*, p. 215, Verse 85).

A FORGED COPPER-PLATE GRANT

D. C. SIRCAR

IT IS MORE THAN five years now that Sri P. C. Dasgupta, then Director of Archaeology, Government of West Bengal, talked to me of showing me an inscribed copper-plate whenever he had occasion to contact me, though he did not actually show or send me either the original plate or its impression. Later Sri D. K. Chakravarty, Superintendent of Archaeology, who took charge of the Directorate for some time, offered me an opportunity of examining the inscription by lending me the plate as well as an impression of the writing, and I am grateful to him for his kindness.

I learnt from Chakravarty that Dasgupta had collected the copper-plate in 1974 from Tamluk in the Midnapore District, West Bengal. It is said to have been in the possession of Sri Pramatha Nath Acharya who is a teacher of the Hamilton High School, Tamluk. Acharya gave the plate to Dasgupta for preservation and display in the State Archaeological Gallery.

The plate has writing only on one side. The writing is very neatly and satisfactorily done, and its preservation is quite good. A glance at the plate, however, made it clear to me that it was negative writing in the Gaudīya characters of about the twelfth, thirteenth or fourteenth century A. D. This was unusual and surprising because no such copper-plate seems to have been previously known, and the purpose behind the negative writing also was undeterminable. A few minutes' examination of the impression showed that it was a charter issued by the Eastern Gaṅga king Bhānu II (c. 1305-27 A. D.), and what appeared even more interesting to me is that I had several occasions to write either on the same record or another that closely resembled it. It was next found out that it was indeed a replica of the copper-plate grant on which I had written, and soon the mystery of the negative writing became clear to me. It is a forgery. Since I inserted a small note on spurious inscriptions in my *Indian*

*Epigraphy*¹ and am generally interested in the subject, I at once thought of bringing the interesting inscription to the notice of scholars.

The facsimile of an inscribed side of a copper-plate containing the major part of the donative section of a charter issued by the Gaṅga king Bhānu II of Orissa on Sauri-vāra, the 9th of the dark half of the month of Dhanus (Pauṣa) in Śaka 1234 (i.e. Saturday, the 23rd December, 1312 A.D.), appears in B. C. Mazumdar's *Orissa in the Making*, published by the University of Calcutta in 1925.² Mazumdar offered an inaccurate transcript of the first three lines of this record and suggested, on the strength of the said passage, that a king named Puruṣottama ruled the Gaṅga kingdom between king Narasimha II and the latter's son Bhānu II.³ In his *History of Orissa*,⁴ R. D. Banerji says that he received the same inscription for examination from Nirmal Kumar Bose and that the set of copper-plates, five of them containing the introductory verses and the sixth the grant portion, had been brought to the Mahant of the Emar Maṭha of Puri by the Mahant of a village Maṭha. Banerji also suggested that Puruṣottama was a usurper of the Gaṅga throne, who kept Bhānu II virtually a prisoner upto 1312 A.D. Later writers like R. Subba Rao regarded Puruṣottama as another name of Bhānu II.⁵ However, I tried to prove in 1946 that the inscription really represents Bhānu II as a subordinate of Puruṣottama and that this overlord of the Gaṅga king is mentioned in some other inscriptions as *Devādideva* Puruṣottama and *Devādideva* Jagannātha and should be identified with the celebrated god bearing those names and worshipped at Puri.⁶ I also tried to show how the Later Gaṅga kings considered themselves as servants of the god and sometimes afterwards also succeeded in showing that this fictitious

1 See pp. 435-39 (Appendix I—Spurious Epigraphs).

2 See *op. cit.*, between pp. 202 and 203.

3 *Op. cit.*, pp. 202-03.

4 Vol. I, 1930, pp. 276ff.

5 *History of Kalinga*, offprint, p. 194. The book was originally printed in *Journ. Andh. Hist. Res. Soc.*, under the title *History of the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kalinga*. Cf. the same view adopted by P. Mukherjee in *Journ. Kal. Hist. Res. Soc.*, Vol. I, No. 1, June, 1946, p. 67.

6 *Journ. Kal. Hist. Res. Soc.*, Vol. I, No. 3, December, 1946, pp. 251 ff.

A FORGED COPPER-PLATE GRANT

relationship between the Orissan kings and the god of Puri developed as a result of the dedication of the kingdom to the god by king Anaṅgabhīma III (1211-39 A. D.), the great-great-grandfather of Bhānu II.¹ I also edited the inscription incised on the plate illustrated in B. C. Mazumdar's *Orissa in the making* in the pages of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Calcutta, with an illustration based on the one appearing in Mazumdar's work.²

After the examination of the copper-plate inscription by B. C. Mazumdar and R. D. Banerji in the year 1925, nobody heard about the record which was then regarded as lost. When my paper on its text was being published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, I fortunately succeeded in re-discovering the inscription and soon afterwards wrote another article on it in the *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*.³ The record was lying in the Punjabi Maṭha, Puri, whence it was acquired by the Utkal University, Bhubaneswar. It was found that what B. C. Mazumdar illustrated was not the obverse of Plate VI but the reverse of Plate V.

It will be seen from the above that the facsimile of only one out of the two inscribed sides of a plate belonging to a set of copper-plates, issued by Gaṅga Bhānu II in the first quarter of the thirteenth century, was published twice, once by B. C. Mazumdar while noticing the record in his *Orissa in the Making* in 1925 and for a second time by myself while editing it in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society* in 1951. However, the illustration published by me was from a smaller block prepared from the plate appearing in Mazumdar's work. The copper-plate which I received from Sri D. K. Chakravarty is of exactly the same size as the illustration published by Mazumdar and is therefore somewhat bigger than the plate appearing with my article. What has to be remembered further in this connection is that the inscribed plates in the genuine charters of the Imperial Gaṅgas of about the age of Bhānu II are much larger than this plate. Another interesting fact to be noticed is that the plate has nothing engraved on the reverse even

1 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 17ff. ; see also my *Stud. Rel. Lif. Anc. Med. Ind.*, pp. 59ff.

2 See *op. cit.*, Letters, Vol. XVII, 1951, pp. 19ff.

3 *Op. cit.*, Vol. XXXVIII, Part 2, 1932, pp. 1ff.

though the writing on it is incomplete. Thirdly, we have to account for the negative writing referred to above.

All these facts considered together led me to conclude that the present plate is really the halftone block made on copper, which was made into a sort of copper-plate inscription bearing negative writing with the help of an engraver who chiselled out the letters by following the marks on the block scrupulously. The person responsible for this forgery apparently hoped that it would pass as an original copper-plate grant and would be purchased by some museum at a considerable price. A reason like this lies behind most of the modern forgeries of antiquarian objects.

As regards the time when this forged inscription may have been prepared, it seems to us that it was probably done when the halftone block was still in a fresh condition, i.e., probably in 1925 or very soon afterwards. It is difficult to say much about the person responsible for the forgery ; but he was apparently a quack. Mazumdar's book was printed at the U. Ray and Sons' Press not actually at the expenses of the University of Calcutta but of the Mahārāja of the Sonapur State. The halftone block seems to have fallen in the hands of a scheming person from the said press.

A BRĀHMĪ INSCRIPTION FROM REWA REGION

P. R. SRINIVASAN

WHEN I WAS at Satna in Madhya Pradesh some years ago for the purpose of collecting inscriptions for the office of the Chief Epigraphist, Archaeological Survey of India, I was given the photograph of the inscription (illustrated here) by Niraj Jain of the place, who is deeply interested in the study of Indian antiquities especially inscriptions. He told me that the inscription under study is found engraved in a cave in the Rewa region. But the exact place where the cave is situated has not been ascertained. However, I am placing the contents of this record before the scholars for their perusal and use.

The record appears to be engraved in a single continuous line. The script is Brāhmī of the 1st-2nd century A.D. The tops of letters are seen to be emphasised, a feature which develops further in the subsequent period. The language is Prakrit.

The inscription states that the stone cave was made by *amaca* (*amātya*) Mula[khaṁ]va, a Vacha (a member of the Vatsa family), the son (*puta*) of Mogali (Maudgali=a woman born of the family of Mudgala) and Sivamita (Śivamitra), the grandson (*natika*) of Sivadata (Śivadatta), and the great-grandson (*panatika*) of Sivānadi (Śivānamdi).

There is no mention of any ruler in this record, so, it is not possible for us to know who the ruler was under whom Mula[khaṁ]va served as *amaca*. During the period to which the record belongs, the western Deccan was under the sway of the Sātavāhanas. There is also an inscription in the *Stūpa* No. I at Sanchi belonging to this dynasty. But no inscriptions of this dynasty are known from this Rewa region. In the circumstances the attribution of the inscription under study to any definitely known dynasty of the period is not easy.

The word *amaca* (= *amātya*), meaning a minister, is important from the point of view of the administrative system as prevailed then.

It is interesting that four generations of a family find a place in the record, and that only the person of the fourth generation is stated

to be an *amaca*, i.e. a minister. Such names as Sivānadi (—Śivānamdi), Sivadata (Śivadatta) and Sivamita (Śivamitra) with “Śiva” forming their first part may be taken to indicate that the family was of Śaivite persunation. But the donor does not have “Śiva” as part of his name. It is not known whether he differed from his ancestors in religious matters. This can be settled if we know to which religion the cave, said to have been excavated by the donor, is devoted.

The minister Mula[kham]va caused the making of a stone-house (*silā-gahā* = *śilā-gṛhaḥ*) evidently the rock-cut cave where the inscription is engraved. It is not, however, known for whose occupation the cave has been made. In several inscriptions of ancient India, mention is made of stone being used for a variety of constructions. The special mention of this material in connection with building works shows clearly that there were constructions made of other materials like brick, wood, etc. The expression *silā-gahā* (Skt. *śilā-gṛhaḥ*) is noteworthy and it might denote either a shrine or a residential place, although its use in the former sense is more common.

TEXT

Sivānadi-panatikena Sivadata-natikena
Sivamita-putena Vachena Mogali-putena
Mula[Kham]vena amacena silā-gahā kāritā.

TRANSLATION

The stone-house was caused to be made by the minister (*amaca*) Mula[Kham]va, a Vatsa, who was the son of Mogali* and Sivamita, the grandson of Sivadata and the great-grandson of Sivānadi.

* [Mogali-puta may mean ‘son of’ i.e. hailing from Mogali, a place. Cf. *Īmtavhia-putra* in Taxila Silver Scroll inscription of a Kuṣāṇa king, Year 136 (D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, 1965, p. 133).—Ed.]

CANDRAGOMIN'S TWENTY VERSES ON THE BODHISATTVA VOW

Mark Tatz

INTRODUCTION

THE MOST IMPORTANT surviving work of Candragomin is his treatise entitled *Bodhisattvasaṃvaraviṃśaka*.¹ This brief text is neither original in inspiration nor philosophically profound, but concerns the practice of the path. It alludes to the ceremonial reception of the moral vow (*śīla-saṃvara*) of the bodhisattva and, summarizing the Chapter on Morality of Asaṅga's *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, outlines the duties and regulations stemming from its acceptance.² The significance of the *Viṃśaka* lies in the fact of its introduction into Tibet by Śāntarakṣita, the first abbot of Bsam-yas, during the early period of Buddhist influence in that country. From that time until the present it has been an important basis for study and practice of the lower levels of the *bodhisattva* path, and representative of the tradition of 'extensive practice' (*rgyas-pa'i spyod*) stemming from the Yogācāra school.

In a separate paper I have determined that Candragomin's lifespan corresponds to the first three quarters of the seventh century.³ He is thus, as Tibetan tradition asserts, contemporary with the Mādhyamika philosopher Candrakīrti at Nālandā Mahāvihāra. I have also suggested that, dependent on this dating, Candragomin cannot be considered the author of the works of Cāndra grammar which are generally ascribed to him. The point is not crucial to the present hypothesis—that the *Viṃśaka* is Candragomin's most important surviving work—for that grammar, being considered a *bauddha* system, ceased to be studied by brahmanical paṇḍitas after Bhartṛhari (c. A. D. 450-510) and the *Kāśikāvṛtti* of Vāmana

- 1 Tibetan *byang-chub sems-dpa'i sdom-pa nyi-shu-pa*. Bstan-'gyur, Sems-tsam. Otani, 5582, Peking Edition, Ku, 192a.1-192b.8; Snar-thang, Ku, 195a.2-b.7; Tohoku, 4081, Derge Hi, 166b.1-167a.5; Cone Hi, 167a.6-168a.3.
- 2 Ed. N. Dutt, K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna, 1966, Chapter X, *Śīla-pāṭala*.
- 3 'Candragomin and the Bodhisattva Vow', Ph.D. dissertation, University of British Columbia, 1978, Chapter I.

and Jayāditya (mid-seventh century), and following the close of the later translation period (that is, by the fourteenth century) it also ceased to be much studied in Tibet.¹

The major philosophic treatises ascribed to Candragomin by Tibetan historical tradition do not survive.² Of his longer works which have come down to us in Sanskrit or in Tibetan, the commentary to the *Māñjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti*³ has been superseded by other traditions of exegesis, the *Lokānandanāṭaka*⁴ has not been played since the close of medieval Indian theater, and the *Śiṣyalekha*⁵ is appreciated but not studied as a didactic *kāvya*, its place being usurped by the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* of Śāntideva. Some minor works of Candragomin will be of future interest. In general they concern the bodhisattva path. The *Vimśaka* must therefore be regarded as the beating heart of that corpus and the inspiration for the examination of Candragomin's life, works and influence.

There follows a translation of the *Vimśaka* with an edited version of the Tibetan text. Neither the root text nor any of its commentaries survives in the original Sanskrit. A Chinese translation of the *Vimśaka* (from Tibetan) by the Yogācāra master Fa-ch'eng (*Dharmasiddha) of eighth-ninth century has however been discovered at Tun-huang.⁶ The *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, from which it is culled, is extant in Sanskrit and researches in progress will establish the role of Candragomin in propagating that tradition in Indo-Tibetan Buddhism. Briefly however I will

- 1 Jam-dbyang bshad-pa however uses Cāndra grammar to explicate the compound *pratītya-samutpāda*. J. Hopkins, *Jam-dbyangs bshad-pa, An Explanation of Tenets* (grub-mtha 'rnam-bshad), University Microfilm, Ann Arbor, Michigan, pp. 827ff.
- 2 See for example Bu-ston, *History of Buddhism*, Tr. E. Obermiller, Heidelberg, 1931, reprinted Suzuki Research Foundation, II. 133.
- 3 Otani, № 3363 ; Tohoku, № 2090, Derge Rgyud Tsi 172a.1-199a.6.
- 4 Tohoku № 4153, Derge Skyes rabs U 197b.1-225a.1 ; Peking and Snarhang Editions. R. Handurukande, *Mañicadāvadāna and Lokānanda*, Pali Text Society, Luzak and Co., London, 1967. The edition is rather poor.
- 5 Otani, № 5410, № 5683 ; Tohoku, № 4183, Derge Srpīn-yig Nge, 46b. № 3-53a.6, also № 4498, Jo-bo'i chos-chung. Sanskrit Ed. and Tr. into Russian by Minaev, Russkoe arkhæologicheskoe obshchestvo, Leningrad. Vostochnoe otdielenie. *Zapiski*, IV.29-52. The Tibetan, ed. by A. Ivanovski, follows, *ibid.* pp. 53-81.
- 6 See the discussion by P. Demiéville of Ueyama's researches in *T'oung Pao*, 1970, pp. 52-54.

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here name some of the secondary sources. Two Indian commentaries are found in the Tibetan canon : the *vr̥tti* of Śāntarakṣita and the *pañjikā* of Bodhibhadra (ninth and tenth centuries respectively).¹ Fragments of an earlier commentary have been discovered among the Tibetan manuscripts from Tun-huang, probably translated from Sanskrit. Native Tibetan commentaries of the later period include the *rnam-bshad* (**vyākhyāna*) of the thirteenth century Śākya scholar Grags-pargyal-mtshan.² Tsong-kha-pa (13-14th centuries) has treated the *Vimśaka* extensively in his *Byang-chub gzhung-lam*.³ The root text figures prominently in discussions of the "Three Vows" (*prātimokṣa*, *bodhisattva* and *tantra*).⁴

The present translation is made with reference only to the *vr̥tti* of Śāntarakṣita, as the earliest commentary which survives in full. The Tibetan text is present with it for comparison ; divergences of the various editions have not been noted because none has significant influence on the meaning. An edited and re-translated version will be presented, along with commentatorial material and historical investigation, in the course of further research.

TRANSLATION

Bodhisattvasaṃvaraviṃśaka : Twenty (Verses) on the Bodhisattva Vow.

Salutations to princely Mañjuśrī !

- (1) Prostrating in reverence and offering what one can,
To the Buddhas with their disciples,
The moral code of the bodhisattva
Who frequent all time and all directions,
- (2) That treasury of all merit,
With a most holy intention,
From a lama established and learned in the vow,
Who is capable, one should request it.
- (3) At that time, for the virtue in that (request),
The Jinas with their disciples,
With their virtuous hearts,
Forever consider one as a son.
- (4) For others, as for oneself,
What is suffering may be beneficial ;

¹ Otani, № 5583-84 ; Tohoku, № 4082-83.

² Sa-skya pa'i bka'-'bum, Toyo Bunko, Tokyo, 1968, Vol. 4, № 136.

³ Gsung-'bum, Vol. Kha. Thanks for this note to Dr. Artsa Tulku, Magadh University.

⁴ This genre was inaugurated by the *Sdom-gsum rab-dbye* of Sa-skya paṇḍita.



ĀCĀRYA-VANDANĀ : D. R. BHANDARKAR BIRTH CENTENARY VOLUME

- One should do beneficial pleasant things,
But not the pleasant, if not beneficial.
- (5) That which arises from strong defilement,
Comes to destroy the vow ;
Its four (major) faults
Are considered to destroy it :
- (6) With attachment to property and advancement,
Praising oneself and denigrating others ;
Out of stinginess not giving wealth and Dharma,
To the suffering, (poor and) forsaken ;
- (7) Not heeding confessions of others,
But berating them out of anger ;
And causing (someone) to reject the Greater Vehicle,
While appearing to teach the holy Dharma :
- (8) One should receive the vow again.¹
Confess medium outflows to three,
The rest before one (person),
And all, defiled or not, also in one's mind.
- (9) Not offering three to the Precious Three,²
Pursuing thoughts of desire,
Disrespect to one's elders,
Giving no answer to questions ;
- (10) Not letting oneself be a guest,
Not accepting gold and so forth,
Not giving to those who want Dharma,
Rejecting those who are immoral ;
- (11) Not training oneself for the sake of others' faith,
Doing little good for living beings.
With compassion (however) nothing is unwholesome.

- 1 The above four acts, performed with strong defilement or "outflow" (*āsrava) are considered to destroy the vow ; thus one must take it again. If done with medium defilement, one need only confess the fault to three persons ; if done with weak defilement, one confesses before only one. In any case, even if the deed has no defilement (by malice) involved, one must also confess, regret and amend the mistake in one's own mind. The faults which follow (Verses 9ff.) do not necessarily destroy the vow. They may or may not contain defilement, depending upon the mental attitude which accompanies their performance.
- 2 Not offering body, speech and mind to the Buddha, Dharma and Community, that is, ceasing to consider oneself a buddhist for even a day.

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- Tolderating wrong livelihood (and hypocrisy),
 (12) Wild laughing etc. in excitement,
 Thinking to traverse *saṃsāra* alone,
 Not eliminating disrespectful speech,
 Not correcting (one's own) defiled (depression) ;
 (13) Such things as abuse in return for abuse,
 And rejecting those who are angry ;
 Rejecting another's confession,
 Pursuing thoughts of anger ;
 (14) Gathering followers out of desire for veneration,
 Not eliminating laziness and so forth ;
 Habituation to foolish chatter,
 Not seeking the goal of concentration ;
 (15) Not eliminating obstructions to meditation,
 Looking for the qualities of its savor ;
 Rejecting the Vehicle of the Disciples,
 Diligent in one's own personal system ;
 (16) Only diligent in non-buddhist treatises,
 Or delighting in such diligence ;
 Leaving aside the Greater Vehicle,
 Praising oneself while denigrating others ;
 (17) Not travelling for the sake (of hearing) the Dharma,
 Denigrating it and relying on writings ;
 Not going to aid the needy,
 Rejecting service of the sick ;
 (18) Not alleviating suffering ;
 Not teaching the way to the unfortunate,
 Not repaying a (good) deed,
 Not alleviating the miseries of others ;
 (19) Not giving to those who want goods ;
 Not caring for one's followers ;
 Not agreeing in mind with others,
 Not speaking praise of (good) qualities ;
 (20) Not putting a stop to (bad) conditions,
 Not using magical powers to threaten.
 For the virtuous mind, however,
 Endowed with love and compassion, nothing is a fault.

TIBETAN TEXT

rgya gar skad du/bodhi satwa saṃ ba ra bingshi ka/bod skad du/byang chub
 sems dpa'i sdom pa nyi shu pa/'jam dpal gzhon nur gyur pa la phyag 'tshal lo//
 (1) sangs rgyas sras dang bcas pa la/'gus par phyag 'tshal ci nus mchod//

- phyogs dus kun nabzhugs pa yi// byang chub sems dpa' rnam kyis khrims//
- (2) bsod nams kun gyi gter gyur gang//de ni bsam pa dam pa yis//
bla ma sdom la gnas shing mkhas//nus dang ldan la blang bar bya//
 - (3) de tshe de la dge ba'i phyir//rgyal ba sras dang bcas rnam kyis//
dge ba'i thugs kyis brtag par yang//bu sdug 'dra bar dgongs par 'gyur//
 - (4) gzhan rnam dangni bdag la'ang rung//sdug bsngal yin yang gang phan dang//
phan dang bde ba rnam bya ste//bde yang mi phan mi bya'o//
 - (5) nyon mongs drag las byung ba yi//sdom pa zhig par gang gyur pa//
de yi nyes pa bzhi po ni//pham pa 'dra bar dgongs pa yin//
 - (6) rnyen dang bkur sti chags pa yis//bdag bstod gzhan la smod pa dang//
sdug bsngal mgon med gyur pa la//ser snas chos nor mi ster dang//
 - (7) gzhan gyis bshags kyang mi nyam par//khro nas gzhan la 'tshog pa dang//
theg pa chen po spong byed cing//dam chos 'drar snang ston pa 'o//
 - (8) sdom pa slar yang blang bar bya//zag pa 'bring ni gsum la bshags//
gcig gi mdun du lhag ma rnam//nyon mongs mi mongs bdag sems bzhin//
 - (9) dkon mchog gsum la gsum mi mchod//'dod pa'i sems kyis rjes su 'jug//
rgan pa rnam la gus mi byed//dris pa la ni lan mi 'debs//
 - (10) mgron por bdag gir mi byed cing//gser la sogs pa len mi byed//
chos 'dod pa la sbyin mi byed//tshul khrims 'chal rnam yal bar 'dor//
 - (11) pha rol dad phyir slob mi byed//sems can don la bya ba chung//
snying brtser bcas na mi dge med//'tsho ba log pa dang du len//
 - (12) 'phyar nas rab tu rgod la sogs//'khor ba gcig pu bgrod par sems//
grags pa ma yin mi spong ba//nyon mongs bcas kyang 'chos mi byed//
 - (13) gshe la lan du gshe la sogs//khro ba rnam ni yal bar 'jog//
pha rol shad kyis 'chags pa spong//khro ba'i sems kyis rjes su 'jug//
 - (14) bsnyen bkur 'dod phyir 'khor rnam sdud//le lo la sogs sel mi byed//
chags pas bre mo'i gtam la brten//ting nge 'dzin gyi don mi tshol//
 - (15) bsam gtan sgrib pa spong mi byed//bsam gtan ro la yon tan lta//
nyan thos theg pa spong bar byed//rang tshul yod bzhin de la brtson//
 - (16) brtson min phyi rol bstan bcas brtson//brtson par byas kyang de la dga'//
theg pa chen po spong bar byed//bdag la bstod cing gzhan la smod//
 - (17) chos kyis don du 'gro mi byed//de la smod cing yi ge brten//
dgos pa'i grogs su 'gro mi byed//nad pa'i rim gro bya ba spong//
 - (18) sdug bsngal sel bar mi byed pa//bag med rnam la rigs mi ston//
byas pa lan du phan mi 'dogs//gzhan gyi mya ngan bsang mi byed//
 - (19) nor 'dod pa la sbyin mi byed//'khor rnam kyis ni don mi byed//
gzhan gyi blo dang mthun mi 'jug//yon tan bsngags pa smra mi byed//
 - (20) rkyen du 'tsham par tshar mi gcod//rdzu 'phrul bsdigs la sogs mi byed//
snying rjer ldan zhing byams phyir dang//sems dge ba la nyes pa med//
- byang chub sems dpa'i sdom pa nyi shu pa//slob dpon tsandra go mis mdzad
pa rdzogs so//

ELEMENTS OF HINDU CULTURE IN LAOS

UPENDRA THAKUR

I

THE LAND OF THE KINGDOM of Laos, popularly known as 'The Land of the Million Elephants and of the White Parasol', Burma, Thailand (Siam), Cambodia (Kambujadeśa), Vietnam (Tonkin, Annam, Cochin China) and Malay Peninsula were known as *Suvarṇabhūmi* (The Land of Gold) in early times. About two thousand and five hundred years ago, when the Laotians came to settle in one of these regions, they named their capital as Muong Xieng Thong (The City of Gold) because of the land being rich in gold. Besides Laos, the whole of Malaya Archipelago was quite rich in precious commodities. Later the regions comprising the present Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam came to be known as Indo-China which presently lies to the South of China and south-east of India.¹

In spite of recent researches it is difficult to determine the exact period of the process of cultural contacts between India and South-East Asia, nor do we have the exact knowledge of its beginning and the various stages of its development. It is remarkable that, though the civilization of Laos, Siam and Vietnam was largely dominated by China for several centuries, none of the Indo-Chinese states of Indian type was ever a dependency of an Indian metropolitan power. As we know, relations between India and Indo-China were established in early days partly by sea and partly by land.² While the various stages of Chinese conquest and colonization in Vietnam have been conclusively settled on the basis of reliable historical data, no such data bearing on the process of Indianization of those lands are known. No archaeological remains showing the period of Indian origin date earlier than the 2nd century

1 For other details, see *Kingdom of Laos*, France-Asie, Saigon, Chapters II-III ; Viracith Keomanichanh, *Political and Cultural Contacts between India and Laos*, Magadh University Ph. D. Thesis (Unpublished), Chapters I-II ; R. C. Majumdar, *Hindu Colonies in the Far East*, Chapter I ; G. Coëdes, *The Making of South-East Asia*, pp. 49 ff.

2 G. Coëdes, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

A. D. as is evident from the discovery of the earliest Sanskrit inscription in Indo-China in the State of Vo-Chanh, dated 2nd-3rd century A. D., as well as the mention of place-names on Indian pattern in different countries of South-East Asia.

At the beginning of the Christian era, the spread of Indian culture and political influence was quite pronounced. Indian, French, Dutch and scholars of South-East Asian countries have discussed various theories regarding this unique Indian cultural expansion and they believe that Indian culture was carried to Indo-China by high caste Indians (Hindus) who ventured forth to seek their fortunes in the Land of Gold and Spices.¹ Coèdes, R. C Majumdar and other scholars believe that Indian culture spread during the first and second centuries B. C. and the earliest Indian settlements comprised Cambodia, Cochin-China and Southern Siam called by the Chinese as Funan. According to local traditions, a Brāhmaṇa named Kauṇḍinya went to Funan in the first century A. D. and married a native princess, Nagani Somā. Later he became lord of the country.² Some scholars, however, refer to the commercial expansion of the Chinese mart after Chinese conquest of the countries south of the Yang-tsekiang followed by the propagation of Buddhism, a religion without any prejudice which considerably helped propagate Indian culture through its specific philosophical and religious doctrines as is evident from the fact that Buddhism even now is the State religion of Laos, Thailand and other countries of South-East Asia. It may be suggested that Kambuja and perhaps Campā also received Indian culture not directly from India but from some part of Malay Peninsula or Malay Archipelago. The *Rāmāyaṇa* mentions Java last in the list of countries situated in the Far East.³ The whole of upper Burma was colonised by the Hindus who established kingdoms at Prome, Pagan, Taguang which still retain their old names. Similarly Hindu kingdoms also existed in Laos, Central Indo-China, Lower Burma, Malay Peninsula, Siam and Cambodia and other countries of South-East Asia.

1 *Ibid.*, p. 51.

2 For details, see Upendra Thakur, 'Kauṇḍinya : His Age and Identity' in *Prācyavidyā-taraṅgiṇī* (Golden Jubilee Vol. of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University, 1969), pp. 115-28 ; K. Nag, *India and the Pacific World*, p. 117.

3 B. R. Chatterji, *Indian Cultural Influence in Cambodia*, pp. 9-10.

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II

In the absence of authentic historical records bearing on the early history of Laos, it is difficult to assign any definite date of contact between India and Laos. Nevertheless it can be safely presumed that relation between the two countries in the field of culture, religion and society existed since pre-historic days.

Before the introduction of Brāhmaṇism and Buddhism into Laos, the country was bound up with the cult of spirits and animism in all its forms. As in India, life was dependent on supernatural forces which swayed the destiny of man. It may be observed here that the syllable *Om* recurs very often in the beginning while invoking a particular spirit :

“*Om*, Oh White herb !
 I use the talisman of the White Angel !
Om, Sathathetic, !
Om, I invoke the power of Phra In,
 I invoke the power of Phra Prom
 I invoke the power of internal spirits !
Om, Mahā Saming !
 I invoke the Great Genius of living being....”¹

Even today the majority of the Lao people practice both religion and the cult of spirits (popularly known as the cult of *Phi*)² in their daily life and public festivals. According to Georges Condominas, the word *phi* encompasses a great number of motions, which must be translated for us by words carrying a multitude of different meanings, such as ‘souls of the dead’ ‘maleficent spirit’, ‘tutelary god’, ‘natural divinity’, etc.³ The *Phi* cult was so popular that during the sixth century of the Christian era, the Khmèrs built sanctuary, Wat Phu Champassak, on the hill, known as Liṅgaparvata, which already contained the famous sanctuary dedicated to God Bhadreśvara Śiva overlooking the place where Śreṣṭhapura, the capital of Chenla lay.

1 Phouvong Phimmasone, *Kingdom of Laos*, pp. 336-37.

2 For details, see Georges Condominas, *Rites et Ceremonies en Milieu Buddhiste Lao*, p. 171.

3 For detailed interpretation of the various *phis*, see *ibid.*, pp. 185-92.

Once in a year the king, guided by a thousand soldiers, proceeded to offer human sacrifice there. According to local tradition, Phya Kammatha (the builder of Wat Phu Champassak and That Phanom) went up to that sanctuary and presided over the sacrifice of a pair of virgins, and a bowl of alcohol was also offered in the sixth month when the red jasmine started to shed its fragrance.¹

The ritual continued to be practised uninterruptedly every year with the same pomp and pleasure at Wat Phu though the human sacrifice was substituted by buffalo sacrifice in later times because it came to be popularly believed that the 'blood of a buffalo is of equal value with the blood of a man'. The sacrifice of the buffalo, as in many temples in India, is still performed both in Vientiane (the Capital of Laos) and Luang Prabang (the residence of the king), usually in May or June. The people of Laos believe that the Spirit or *Phi* can help and give good fortune in life and impelled by this notion they offer the God, flowers, candles, incense, blood of the animal, etc.²

As regards the spread of Brāhmaṇism in Indo-China, it may be said that this religion took deep root in those regions in a much earlier period dating back to the time of king Huen-Tien. Although the reign-period of Huen-Tien is shrouded in obscurity his descendants continued to rule over the country for centuries. Fan-Chan was an important king of the line who had established diplomatic relations with both China and India and is also credited with having sent an embassy to India between A. D. 240 and 245.³

Towards the end of the fourth century or the beginning of the fifth century A. D. the throne of Funan was occupied by Kia Chenju or Kauṇḍinya, referred to above,⁴ who was a staunch follower of Brāhmaṇism. He introduced this religion into Cambodia which became the predominant faith of the people during the period of Funan and the early centuries of the Khmèr rule.⁵ In the sixth century A. D. Funan came to be conquered by its northern vassal state of Chenla

1 V. Keomanichanh, *op. cit.*, pp. 128-29.

2 Charles Archambault, *Kingdom of Laos*, pp. 156-57 and p. 162.

3 R. Le May, *The Culture of South-East Asia*, p. 35.

4 For details about him, see Thakur, *op. cit.*, pp. 115-18.

5 May, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

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which was ultimately divided into two parts—(i) Upper Chenla (i.e., the Lao State to the west of Annam) and (ii) Lower Chenla. Since then Brāhmaṇism became quite popular in Laos and was adopted by a large number of people as their main religion.

Many forms of Brāhmaṇical religion, affiliated to Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Durgā, etc. were widely practised by the majority of the population of Java, Madura, Bali and Lambok.¹ About the beginning of the eighth century A. D., we find the Purāṇic form of Brāhmaṇical religion established in Java which is conclusively proved by inscriptions, temples, images as well as literary sources. The records of Airlaṅga refer to the three principal sects as Śaiva (or Maheśvara), Saugata (Buddhist) and Rṣi (Mahābrāhmaṇa). Altogether ten religious sects are said to have flourished there out of which one or more were Śaiva sects, four refer to Vaiṣṇava sect and three to Brāhmaṇa or Brahmana (devoted to Brahmā ?).

The cult of Devarāja was the most predominant Śaiva cult of Kambuja, which was established during the reign of king Jayavarman II. In order to establish this cult Jayavarman II had invited a Brāhmaṇa from India named Hiraṇyadāma, who performed tāntric rites and installed the cult there which continued to flourish till the end of the Khmèr empire in the 15th century A.D.² As both Siam and Laos formed parts of the Kambuja empire about 8th or 9th century A.D., they were naturally very much influenced by the religious condition of that country. It is therefore justly said that Laos, particularly Vientiane and Luang Prabang, had received religious ideas, both Buddhist and Brāhmaṇical, indirectly from India, probably through Cambodia with the result that both Brāhmaṇism (Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism, etc.) and Buddhism flourished side by side in all these regions, and the people in general were quite familiar with Indian philosophical ideas and religious beliefs.

Important Sanskrit inscriptions of Cambodia have been found in Laos. A digraphic inscription (written in the usual Pallava script of South India and also in North Indian script, akin to Bengali, Post-gupta

1 Kalidas Nag, *Greater India*, p. 146.

2 R. C. Majumdar, *Suvarṇadvīpa*, Part II, pp. 99-101.

Brāhmī) of Yaśovarman, the founder of Angkor, has been found in Laos.¹ A late eleventh century inscription of Jayavarman VI, found near Bassac in Laos, gives a beautiful description of the beauty and vast learning of the Lady Tilak :

'In her youth not only had she a beauty most excellent coupled with right conduct ... but by the elders, the royal Guru, and the most learned, she was honoured publicly and proclaimed as the Goddess Vāgiśvari (Sarasvatī), and in contest of learning, being reckoned the foremost, she decked with jewels'. She was the mother of the court paṇḍita Subhadra of king Jayavarman VII.²

It would thus be seen that Laos, the cradle of the early Kambuja realm, witnessed the process of Indianisation in full swing and got the name of Lava, i.e. the Land of Lava, the son of Rāma, in learned circles. There is still a city named Lavapuri, popularly pronounced as Lobpuri (or Lopburi) in Thailand.³

The Phon Lokhon (Laos) inscription in Sanskrit consisting of six lines, comprising three verses in the *anuṣṭubha* metre, is engraved on the north-east face of a sand-stone column which crowns the top of the hill called Phou Lokkon. It records the erection, by king Mahendravarman, of a Śivaliṅga which still stands on the spot at a distance of 2½ metres from the inscribed column.⁴ The remains of the temple of Wat Phu, on the Liṅgaparvata (mountain) containing Bhadreśvara (Śiva) are still extant about 8 kms. to the south-west of Champassak (Bassac) in South Laos,⁵ and provides the greatest evidence of the wide prevalence of Brāhmaṇism in Laos. The specimens of the religious art at Wat Phu depict Indra on Airāvata and Viṣṇu on Garuḍa.⁶ As noted above, it was in the seventh century that Jayavarman I

1 B. R. Chatterji, *South-East Asia in Translation*, pp. 16-17.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 17.

3 For details, see Raghuvira in *India's Contribution to World Thought and Culture*, pp. 487 ff.

4 B. C. Chhabra, *Expansion of Indo-Aryan Culture*, p. 69.

5 Henri Marchal, *Le Temple de Wat Phou*, p. 2.

6 *Ibid.*, pp. 24, 28 ; H. G. Q. Wales, *The Making of Greater India*, p. 204.

had installed a stele inscription at this sanctuary which he named as Liṅgaparvata (the mountain containing the Liṅga or phallic representation of Lord Śiva). An inscription of 835 A.D. speaks of Śreṣṭhapura as a holy place because of its association with the worship of Lord Śiva.

III

As regards literature and script, it would suffice to say that, with the introduction and popularity of Indian religions, Sanskrit language had come to occupy a dominant place in all these regions. Majority of the inscriptions of the early period, found in different parts of Laos, referred to above, are in beautiful Sanskrit which clearly testify to the wide prevalence and popularity of the language. It is true that no early works in Sanskrit have been found in Laos, but there is no doubt that the earliest Lao literature is replete with Sanskrit and Pali origin. Sanskrit and Pali grammar, lexicography and prosody have influenced Lao language and literature. The classical period of Lao literature was in its full splendour from 1547 to 1571 under the rule of Setṭhathirat, a Sanskrit name which is Śrī Jayajyeṣṭha or in local pronunciation P'ra Jaya Jettha. The reign of king Sūryavaṁśa (1637-1694) also witnessed the classical period of Lao history and culture and Laos, during this period, was a mighty centre of intellectual and religious activities. The diversity, richness and the characteristics of Lao culture and literature are essentially Indian.¹

In 1283 A. D. King Ram Khamheng of Sukhodaya introduced the Lao script which marks the common origin of Thai and Lao alphabets. It was in this year (1283 A. D.) that Pali scriptures from Ceylon were introduced into the kingdom of Sukhodaya and from this moment Sanskrit was replaced by Pali.

The Lao script and language are derived from Sanskrit and Pali. There is a great similarity between Sanskrit and Lao words. For instance the names of some Indian flowers such as *gulāba*, *campā*, and *sabhā*, etc. are exactly the same in Lao language. The words *dharmaśālā* in Sanskrit and *sālā dham* in Lao have exactly the same meaning.

The classical Lao verses follow the metrics of Indian prosody and the metre is regulated by the number of syllables and their quantity. In fact, 'the true classical Lao poetry is formed of translations of Indian

1 Raghuvira, *op. cit.*, p. 487.

poems and even Lao folklore is peopled by the Indian pantheon'.¹ The religious songs of the Bhikkhus (Bhikṣus) developed upto the nineteenth century and they inspired large number of stories which became popular both in verse and prose. The Lao people sing of 'the beauty and charm of nature and of love and its attractions. Their dances, gestures and movements recall Indian origins',² the themes of which are taken from Hindu and Buddhist stories, the epics (the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*), the Jātakas, historical and legendary episodes as well as Indian fables, supplying interminable topics of gallantry and tenderness. The *Molam* is an important genre of literature which 'evokes the marvels of paradise, the powers of Indra, the cruelty of Yama, the atrocities of hell, and, on the other hand, the beauties of full moon, the enchantments of woods and seasons'.³ The story of Rāma (*Rāmakathā*, The *Phara Lak Phra Lam* or The *Phra Lam Sadok*, a Lao version of the story of Rāma)⁴ is as popular in Laos, Thailand and other countries of South-East Asia as it is in India. Infact, the abiding and fundamental human values and social ideas of the Rāma legend have contributed to the central place it has come to occupy in the cultural life of the peoples of most South-East Asian countries. In each country, while the central theme of the Rāma legend has been maintained, the narration of the epic has evolved considerably in such a way as to reflect the environment, civilization and culture of each country which has resulted in the emergence of classical masterpieces of literature.⁵

Besides literature, the classical Lao theatre has an Indian origin and had been imported from Khmèr in the 14th century. It was mainly developed in the 16th and 17th centuries. Gestures and movements remind one of Indian choreography and the scenes represent in general the episodes of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Didactic stories, judicial stories, comic stories, legends and histories, canonical (Buddhist) and extra-canonical literature and technical literature form the different

1 *Ibid.*, p. 488.

2 *Ibid.*

3 Raghuvira, *op. cit.*, p. 488.

4 Edited critically for the first time by S. Sahai, 1973.

5 *Ibid.*, p. XIII. For details regarding, popular stories, romances, etc., see Raghuvira, *op. cit.*, pp. 488-89.

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branches of the vast classical Lao literature which betray undoubted Indian origin and influence.¹ In this connection it is interesting to note that the age-old Indian *gurukula* system still exists in Laos.

IV

In the field of art and architecture also, we come across marked Indian influence. The images of the gods and temples, similar to those in India, were made in various parts of Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam, and Thailand as far as Burma and Java. In the Museum opened at Vientiane under the auspices of the Ecole Francaise d'extreme-Orient, there are some excellent base-reliefs and sculptures including a splendid 6th century figure depicting Ganeśa, the Elephant-god.²

The Lao art, infact, is spectacular and almost similar to Indian art, the Khmèr art or the Chinese art which absorbed all the influences coming from these lands from time to time.³ The anthropomorphic representation of the Buddha in Lao art seems to be nearer the Burmese and Siamese art. This art is entirely religious in character, and both the Buddhist and Brāhmaṇical arts flourished in Laos and formed the main theme of the decorative art. The Buddhist icons conform to the general principles of the Indian canons i.e. *Mudrā*. The artists generally show preference for the three attitudes of the Buddha : (i) The Buddha, 'Conqueror of Māra' (*bhūmiśparśa mudrā*), (ii) the Buddha calling the rain and (iii) the Buddha marching (*līlā*). Besides these, the Buddha is also depicted by artists in *abhaya mudrā* and meditation (*samādhi*).

These figures, irrespective of their material, show marked Indian traits. The hair on the head treated in small curls with a protuberance and a flame-like bouquet above are characteristics of all the Buddha images found in Laos. Besides, the *uṣṇīṣa* on the head and the *ūrṇā* on the forehead in most of these images are without doubt due to the Gandhāra influence and the flame-like bouquet on the top of the bun of hair on the Buddhist figures are definitely Indian.⁴ The typically Indian attitude of *nāsāgra-dṛṣṭi*, evident on some of the seated Buddha figures of Laos, the Buddha seated in *Padmāsana* and touching the

1 For details, Raghuvira, *op. cit.*, pp. 487-92 ; V. Keomanichanh, *op. cit.*, Chapter VI.

2 *Asia* (Saigon), Vol. IV, 1954-55, p. 93.

3 Souk Boun, *L'image du Buddha dans l'art Lao*, pp. 1-13.

4 For details, see J.S.Nigamin *India's Contribution to World Thought and Culture*, p. 484.

bhūmi (*bhūmisparśa mudrā*) inviting the earth to bear witness to his enlightenment seen in the Buddha figures at Ban Saifong and the Residence Superior, the transitory drapery in some of the standing Buddha figures such as at Vat Si Saket and That Luong like the Gupta prototypes, a row of seated Buddhas at Vat Si Saket representing the seven Buddhas and many other similar features can be compared with the Buddha figures found in different parts of India.¹

Similarly the sculptural art in Laos shows several Indian prototypes. The figures standing over the carytides and the *patrāvali* in the background seen on an ancient door at Vat Aram undoubtedly bear post-Gupta characters. This feature in India may be seen as early as the beginning of the Christian era. The early Indian motif demonstrating the composite figures of animals combining aquatic creatures, is represented at That Luong. Similarly the *garuḍa* and *nāga* carved in relief on the Vat Pa Ruok and the representation of *dvārapālas* at the entrance of many shrines in Laos are Indian themes.

Thus, the sculptures of Laos are purely religious in character which include the images of the Buddha, Devadattas, Apsarās, Kinnarīs, Nāgas, Garuḍas, etc.² Tham-Vangsang, 55 kms. to the north of Vientiane, is one of the most important sculptured caves in Laos. There are four sculptured figures besides the fifth one that stands isolated, as it is on the other piece of rock, on the northern side. The central figure represents the Buddha seated in Indian style. It is five feet and four inches and its *ūrṇā* has been emptied of its jewel, the trace of the garment being visible on its chest. The right hand, raised in the gesture of argumentation, is pressed against his chest, and the left hand, palm outwards, is lying on his lap. The four other figures, also seated in Indian fashion, measure three feet and seven inches in height.³ On the western side of Tham-Vangsang there are three sculptured figures of which two are smaller, each being in its above, and the third is nearly ten feet in height. We have also dates on some of these figures : 928 of the Mahāśakarāja era, i.e. 1026 A.D. This clearly

1 For details, see J. S. Nigam, *op. cit.*, pp. 484-85

2 P. Gangneux, *L'Art Lao*, p. 12.

3 S. Karpeles, *Kingdom of Laos*, p. 81.

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shows that the Śaka era introduced in India by Kaṇiṣka I also came to be adopted in Laos. It was the period when the Khmèr rulers extended their territory along the Mekong river upto Luang Prabang.

For the study of Laotian architecture, we have to depend on religious monuments known as *Wat* (monastery or temple). It is also known as *Pagoda* which is of Indo-Portuguese origin. Besides *Mahāvihān* (*Mahāvihāra*), *Thammaśālā* (*Dharmaśālā*) etc., the following two types of the edifices are important :

- (i) *Sim* (Pali-Skt. = *Simā*), the place for performing *uposatha* (Pātimokkha performance).
- (ii) *That* (Pali-Skt. = *Dhātu*), the edifice for putting the relics.

From the construction of the *Thats*, *Wats* and buildings in Laos, it is clear that the style was imported from India via Burma which became the model of architecture of all the countries of South-East Asia. According to G. Coèdes, the characteristic type of building of Laotian architecture is the *That* (*dhātu*) which is the counterpart, in Laotian terms, of the Indian *sihalesa* and Burmese *stūpa*, combined with the Khmèr and Siamese *cetiya*.¹ The *That Luong* (The Great Shrine), situated 5 miles to the east of Vientiane, built in 1560, the chief-d'oeuvre of Laotian architecture representing the wonderful *stūpa* of the world like Angkor Wat in the Republic of Khmèr and Barabudur in Java, is modelled on Indian pattern, and in style and general outline it bears close affinity with some of the mediaeval temples of India. According to a legend current in Laos, *That Luong* is one of the 84,000 *stūpas* built by emperor Aśoka for the Buddha hair and relics thousand of years ago.² Similarly *Wat Pa Ruok* shows some affinity with the Gupta temple at Sanchi and the *Wat Ban Tan* displays Gupta-Cālukyan features. The *Wat Si Saket*, though not oriented to the cardinal directions, shows mediaeval Indian influence and follows closely the principle of the *Śilpaśāstra*. The *Wat Vixum* and *What Aram*, the *Wat Si Saket* and *Wat Ho Phra Keo* bear late Gandhāra and Ajantā influences respectively. Moreover, the cruciform plan followed in most of these constructions is basically the common architectural feature of north

1 G. Coèdes, *op. cit.*, pp. 174-75, 178-79.

2 V. Keomanichanh, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

Indian temples during mediaeval period.¹

Besides, the plan of the big buildings in Laos is often cruciform like the Hindu buildings,² the window frames showing explicit Hindu influence.³ As suggested above, the Indian sculptural and architectural styles found their way into Laos through its neighbouring countries, and not directly from India. "The ancient Hindu tradition of medium weight architecture, characterised by the curvilinear roof, has left traces in Laos in the design of apertures, and in several monuments very archaic in appearance, either in their overall composition or their ornamentation. The light architecture constructed of perishable materials has not survived for a direct comparison with the Indian prototypes."⁴ The remarkable co-existence of the two great religions of India—Hinduism and Buddhism—can be seen even today. The Wat Pra, constructed in the 17th century is adorned by an image of Lakṣmī standing on a lotus over its dome while the Buddha figure is in the temples. Similar images of different Hindu gods and goddesses along with the central figure of the Buddha can be seen in most of the Wats of Thailand, Laos and other countries of South-East Asia.

V

Towards the end of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century A. D. Brāhmaṇism declined in Laos as in neighbouring Cambodia. Buddhism became the dominant creed, and there are now few traces of Brāhmaṇical religion left in the country, except, of course, a few rituals in public ceremonies, customs and festivals of Laos. The Brahma-Buddha culture was rooted so deep in their minds that it has left an impressive mark upon their social and cultural life which guides, to a great extent, their daily life even today.

As noted above, it can not be said with certainty as to how and when Brāhmaṇism was introduced in Laos. No one can however deny that the minds of Lao people are so impregnated with Brāhmaṇism that some Brāhmaṇical rites are still practised alongside Buddhism, especially on great occasions such as birth, wedding and death. The names of Indian

1 Cf. Krishna Deva, *Temples of North India*, p. 5 ;

2 J. S. Nigam, *op. cit.*, p.486.

3 De L.Beytie, *L. Architecture Hindu au Extreme-Orient*, Paris, 1907, p.231.

4 Nigam, *op.cit.*, p.486.

ELEMENTS OF HINDU CULTURE IN LAOS

gods—Indra, Viṣṇu, Śiva, etc.—are quite familiar to the Lao people, and in their prayers to Lord Buddha, they never fail to invoke these Hindu divinities.¹ The *Rāmakathā* is as much popular in Laos as in India.

The *Baci* ceremony is just one of the many instances which show how deeply Brāhmaṇism is entrenched in the religious life of the Lao people. The term *baci* or *sukhuan* (officiant, palm) is etymologically derived from *brahman* and this rite is celebrated on many occasions such as new year, marriage, birth, etc. Though the Brāhmaṇas and the Bhikṣus were in their country of origin (India) quite unaccommodating antagonists for a long time, and the Brāhmaṇic religion virtually eliminated the Buddhist monks, yet in Laos and other countries of South-East Asia they incorporated some of the ethical achievements of Buddhism² of which *Baci* is a living example. The chief of this ceremony is called *Brāhma* who is chosen from amongst the elders of the village. He performs the ritual ceremony according to the Brāhmaṇical rites.³ Thus, Brāhmaṇical religion combined with Buddhist rites has taken deep roots in Laos and whenever the Lao people perform Buddhist rites and other festivals, the Brāhmaṇical ceremony also follows at home and in the temple.

Should any one have the opportunity to visit Laos and stay for sometime with a Lao family, he would certainly notice that the Hindu and Lao manners and customs are very similar in many respects. The way of greeting a friend or high personality by joining the hands at the level of the heart with a slight bow of the head is just one instance to cite. The simple way of dressing, especially by a male, consisting of *lungi* made of silk or cotton, a shawl carelessly thrown upon the shoulders, a light shirt and, on special occasions, the *bundhgalā* (closed neck) coat and *dhoti* are all believed to have come from India.⁴

1 For details, see *Rites et Ceremonies en Milieu Buddhiste Lao*, p. 182; V. Keomanichanh, *op. cit.*, pp. 127 ff.

2 S. J. Tambiah, *Buddhism and Spirit Cults in North-East Thailand* p. 252.

3 V. Keomanichanh *op. cit.*, pp. 138-150.

4 I had had occasions to participate in many of the Lao festivals while I was in Laos in 1972 on a Lecture-tour.

KING SU.. OF THE MAUKHARI DYNASTY

KIRAN KUMAR THAPLYAL

THE PLACE OF KING Su.. in the chronology of Maukhari rulers as also his role in the history of that dynasty remain uncertain. His chronological position in the Maukhari dynasty has, however, to be determined mainly in the light of the evidence summarized below.

(a) The Nalanda sealing of Su..¹ details Maukhari genealogy from Harivarman to the owner of the seal. Su.. is therein referred to as a son of king Avantivarman, bearing the titles *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* and *Mahārājādhirāja* which indicate his position as a paramount ruler. However, there is no mention of Grahavarman in that seal, though he is expressly referred to as the son of Avantivarman in the *Harṣacarita*.

(b) The *Harṣacarita* refers to Grahavarman as the eldest son of Avantivarman² who married Rājyaśrī, the daughter of the Puṣpabhūti ruler, Prabhākaravardhana.³

(c) The same text does not refer to Avantivarman's presence at the negotiations for Grahavarman's marriage and the ceremony itself; nor does Su.. find mention therein.

(d) The accounts of Hiuen-tsang⁴ indicate that the ministers of Kanauj headed by Bāni (or Vāni), offered the throne to Harṣa, which he accepted with some hesitation, at the direction of a Bodhisattva.⁵

(e) According to *Fang Chih*,⁶ Harṣa ruled conjointly with his sister Rājyaśrī. It does not refer to any one by the name Su..

1 A. Ghosh in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 283-85. The sealing being fragmentary, only the first two letters of the name of the ruler are preserved. The first one is definitely Su while the second one has been read as *va* or *ca*. Hence we refer to this king as Su..

2 *Harṣacarita* (hereafter *HC*), ed. by P. V. Kane, 2nd ed., 1955, *Ucchvāsa* IV, p.13.

3 *Ibid.*, pp. 123 ff.

4 Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. I, pp. 343 ff.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 343.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 345.

KING SU.. OF THE MAUKHARI DYNASTY

With regard to Su., the following possibilities¹ may be suggested in the light of the aforesaid bits of evidence.

(1) When Rājyavardhana learnt of the defeat and death of his brother-in-law, Grahavarman, at the hands of the Mālava ruler,² he forthwith advanced towards Kanauj and defeated and killed the latter, but was himself treacherously killed by [Śaśāṅka], the king of Gauḍa and an ally of that Mālava ruler.³ Harṣa thereafter marched against Śaśāṅka. Sensing danger, the Gauḍa king retreated from Kanauj.⁴ Since Grahavarman had no issue (at least from Rājyaśrī),⁵ the younger brother of Grahavarman occupied the throne of Kanauj as the rightful claimant and ruled till the ministers of Kanauj offered the crown to Harṣa⁶ (or to Rājyaśrī with Harṣa as her mentor or as joint ruler). Possibly the ministers thought that Su.. would not be able to rise to the occasion and cope with the difficult political conditions of the times and, as such, handed over the reins of government to Harṣa and Rājyaśrī. The hesitation of Harṣa in accepting the throne of Kanauj, referred to by Hiuen-tsang, might have been born of the prickings of his conscience, as by doing so he was depriving Su., the younger brother of the deceased king, of his right.

As regards the omission of Grahavarman's name in the genealogy given in the Nalanda seal, it is worth noting that we have some other epigraphs in which a brother's name has been omitted in the genealogical table even though that brother had ruled earlier.⁷

(2) The *Harṣacarita* mentions Grahavarman, the eldest son of Avantivarman, as himself opening negotiations for his marriage with Rājyaśrī, the Puṣpabhūti princess. No mention is made of his father, Avantivarman, in this context, nor of the latter's presence at the marriage

1 Some of these suggestions, as will be seen below, have also been pointed out by others.

2 HC, *Ucchvāsa* VI, p. 41.

3 *Ibid.*, *Ucchvāsa* VI, p. 43.

4 See R. S. Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, p. 73.

5 HC, *Ucchvāsa* VIII, p. 83.

6 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 284.

7 The descendants of king Purugupta do not mention the name of his brother, Skandagupta, in the epigraphs detailing genealogy, obviously as they mention *vaṁśāvalī* and not *rājāvalī*. See e. g. Nalanda sealing of Budhagupta (Hiranand Sastri, *Memoir of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 66, p. 64); Nalanda

ceremony. Perhaps Avantivarman was alive¹ at that time but did not approve of the marriage on political considerations and, as such, absented himself from the marriage. For, soon after the marriage, the Mālava ruler and his ally, the Gauḍa king, invaded Kanauj and killed Grahavarman, the son-in-law of the Puṣpabhūti king, to wreak vengeance on the Thaneswar house whose ruler, Prabhākaravardhana, had earlier defeated or at least humiliated the Mālava ruler.² Thus Grahavarman met his death while yet a prince.³ Meantime, Avantivarman, too, might have been killed or died of shock and Su. succeeded his father Avantivarman as king and ruled for a short period till the crown was offered to Harṣa by the ministers of Kanauj. Su. either himself abdicated or was forced to do so under pressure. Since Grahavarman did not rule, the question of the mention of his name on the Nalanda seal in question does not arise.

(3) Su. was the governor of Magadha during the reign of Avantivarman and when the crown-prince, Grahavarman, came to the throne, he declared himself independent in Magadha and adopted high-sounding imperial titles, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* and *Mahārājādhirāja*, as are met with on the Nalanda seal.⁴ After Grahavarman's death he laid claims to the throne of Kanauj but the ministers of Kanauj, disapproving of his earlier rebellious conduct, offered the throne to Harṣa (or to Rājyaśrī with Harṣa as her mentor).

(4) Su. was the younger brother of Grahavarman. Spurred by ambition to usurp the throne, he joined hands with Śaśāṅka and the Later Gupta ruler, Devagupta, against his own brother, and was rewarded with the throne of Kanauj after Grahavarman had been killed in battle. After Rājyavardhana defeated the Mālava ruler and Śaśāṅka had retreated from Kanauj, the position of Su. who was disliked by his subjects and court-officials alike, became untenable. The

sealing of Narasimhagupta (*ibid.*, p.66) ; Nalanda seal of Kumāragupta (*ibid.*, pp. 66-67) ; Bhitari seal of Kumāragupta (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 273).

1 See e. g., R. S. Tripathi, *op. cit.*, p. 50. We, however, think this as less likely.

2 HC, *Ucchvāsa*, IV, p. 1.

3 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 284, note 8.

4 The find-spot of his seal would suggest this, as opined by B. P. Sinha, (*The Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha*, pp. 207-08).

ministers of Kanauj requested Harṣa, the brother of the widowed Maukhari queen and also her rescuer, to accept the throne of Kanauj.

(5) Su.. was the eldest son of Avantivarman. He succeeded his father to the throne, and was in turn succeeded by his younger brother Grahavarman. King Avantivarman's name is not mentioned in Bāṇa's account of the marriage negotiations and marriage ceremony of Grahavarman as he was not alive then. With his father (Avantivarman) and elder brother (Su..) dead, it was quite natural for Grahavarman to initiate himself negotiations for his marriage. The contradiction in Bāṇa's reference to Grahavarman as the eldest son of Avantivarman could be easily reconciled. It is well to note that the said reference to Grahavarman is made at the time of his marriage. At that time he was, no doubt, the eldest son of Avantivarman, as Su.. had predeceased him. Since Su.. ruled before Grahavarman, the question of the mention of the latter's name in the genealogical portion of the Nalanda seal of the former does not arise.

It may be pointed out that the *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa* mentions Suvra (generally identified with Su.. of the Nalanda seal) after Grahavarman.¹ This is interpreted to mean that Suvra followed Grahavarman. But scholars have also pointed out that, in some cases, the Buddhist text has reversed the chronological order, e. g., it refers to Śaśāṅka as the predecessor of Jayanāga, while the case seems to be just the reverse.²

(6) At the time of Grahavarman's death (606 A. D.), Su.., his younger brother and legitimate heir to the Maukhari throne, was a mere child and so the widowed Maukhari queen, Rājyaśrī, ruled jointly with Harṣa. After Harṣa's death (647 A. D.), minister Aruṇāśva usurped the throne. When the latter was defeated by the Chinese forces, Su.. (who might have been less than fifty years of age at that time) got an opportunity to ascend the throne.³

(7) Grahavarman and Su.. were perhaps one and the same person.⁴

1 *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, ed. by Ganapati Sastri, Trivandrum, 1920, p. 626.

2 B. P. Sinha, *op. cit.*, pp. 220 ff; pp. 229 ff; R. G. Basak, *The History of North-Eastern India*, 2nd Ed., p. 166.

3 B. N. Srivastava, *History of the Maukharis of Kanauj During the Seventh Century A. D.* (*Bull. of the U. P. Hist. Soc.*, No. 1), p. 24.

4 It is rather somewhat surprising that scholars, to the best of our knowledge, have not suggested such a proposition, though some, in somewhat similar circumstances,

The former is referred to as the son of Avantivarman in the *Harṣacarita* and the latter too is mentioned as such in the Nalanda seal. The evidence of the *Harṣacarita* shows that Grahavarman was a Buddhist, and that the saint, Divākaramitra, was his close friend.¹ It may be suggested that, in consonance with his noble vow (*vrata*) to remain steadfast to Buddhist tenets, Grahavarman took the second name Su-*[vratavarman]*, and issued the seal under that name. The find-spot of the seal, Nalanda, the foremost centre of Buddhist learning, would also favour this suggestion. Bāṇa, a follower of the Brāhmanical faith, has, however, preferred to refer him by his original name. The relevant text in the *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa* reads : *Isānasarva* Pañktiś=ca Graha-Suvra tathā parāḥ*, which has been emended as *Graha-Suvrata (a)th=āparāḥ* by Jayaswal.² It may be construed that in Graha-Suvra or Graha-Suvrata we have both names of the same ruler rather than names of two different rulers.³ The *Harṣacarita* hints at the 'disappearance of all her [Rājyaśrī's] relatives',⁴ after the sad end of Grahavarman. This would also favour the identification of Grahavarman with Su.. In the absence of any near relations of Grahavarman, it was natural for the nobles of Kanauj court to offer the throne to king Harṣa, the brother and rescuer of the Maukhari queen, Rājyaśrī (or to Rājyaśrī with Harṣa as her guardian).

The above suggestions are open to criticism. The final verdict regarding the chronological position of king Su.. in the Maukhari dynasty still awaits some tangible evidence. Nevertheless, with the evidence at hand, we feel that one of these could have been the case.

were inclined to treat Kumāragupta and Govindagupta as also Skandagupta and Purugupta of the Imperial Gupta dynasty (to name a few only) as one and the same person. Whether these identifications are correct or not, is a different matter, but at least the suggestion is there.

1 *HC, Uchhvāsa VIII*, p.81. (Harṣa introduces Divākaramitra to Rājyaśrī by the words *eṣa te bhartur=hṛdayam*).

* [Read—'Isāna-Sarva'.—Ed.]

2 *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, p.626 ; K. P. Jayaswal, *Imperial History of India*, p.45.

3 Some ancient Indian kings are definitely known to have had more than one name. Candragupta II Vikramāditya had another name Devagupta (*Corps. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, No. 5 at p.32). The Mandasor inscription seems to refer the ruler as Yaśodharman at one place and Viṣṇuvardhana at another (*ibid.*, Vol. III, No.35.)

4 *HC, Eng. Tr. Cowell and Thomas*, p. 244.

RAJPUR COPPER-PLATE CHARTER OF THE PARAMĀRA RAṆADHAVALA [VIKRAMA] YEARS 1148 AND 1177

H. V. TRIVEDI

THE PRESENT CHARTER is the earliest record of the Paramāra king Naravarman yet found and issued by his sub-ordinate chief Raṇadhavala whose name is revealed by it for the first time. It is engraved on three copper-plates which were received as a treasure-trove find, in the Collectorate at Khargone in the West Nemad District of Madhya Pradesh. As far as the information is available, the plates were found by a peasant, in course of ploughing his field at Rajpur, the principal town of a *tehsil* in the district, and very recently they were acquired by the Central Museum at Indore. When received, they were considerably corroded, with most of the letters choaked with verdigris. With great care they were cleaned by Shri R. S. Garg, the Curator of the Museum, who also deciphered a major part of the record; and finding it important, placed the plates at my disposal for editing the inscription, which is done here, from the originals, owing my thankfulness to the Curator.

Each of the plates measures 28 cms. broad by 19·5 cms. high, but the height of the third one exceeds that of the other two by ·3 cm. Their rims are slightly thickened (·3 cm.), to protect the writing. A small circular hole (dia. 1 cm.) in the middle of the lower border of the first plate and in the upper border of the second and the third, so as to disturb the continuity of the writing, shows that they were held together by a ring which is now not forthcoming. The total weight of the plates is 2800 grams. The lower right corner of third plate is occupied by a roughly-engraved figure of Garuḍa in human form, kneeling and facing left, with folded hands, with letters *Garuḍa...*, engraved in Nāgarī, near its face. The figure occupies a space 5 cms. high by 4 cms. broad. The average height of the letters engraved on the plates is 1 cm., except of those on the third plate which are of slightly bigger size and are sparsely written. The last of the lines consists of the sign-manual of

the king Naravarman, and the penultimate line contains some letters in bigger size, which I am unable to make out satisfactorily.

The inscription comprises 56 lines of writing, fourteen of which are inscribed on the inner side of the first plate, fifteen on either side of the second, and twelve on the inner side of the third plate. The engraving is shallow, and thus the letters do not show through on the other side of the plates, which are rather thick. The letters are slovenly formed, and besides that a number of them are uncouth in shape, some of them were distorted by the engraver who committed mistakes of omissions and commission in cutting them. For example, *grāma*, the first two syllables in line 28 are cut as *mnām*; the second syllable in *daṇḍa* in line 13 appears as *ga*; the second letter in *vaṁsa* in line 49, as *ra*; by omitting the middle horizontal stroke, and in the same line *pa* is engraved as *ṣa* and *ma* as *na*. In this respect, the record shares the peculiarities of the Kadambapadraka grant of Naravarman.¹ Similar expressions appearing in some other charters of the family are no doubt helpful in deciphering a great part of the inscription, but this device fails to vouchsafe the correct reading of the names occurring in the record, for example, in line 30. Besides this, owing to mutilation, the reading of some of the letters remains uncertain, showing a few lacunae in the transcript given below.

The alphabet is Nāgarī, regular for the period and locality to which the record belongs. For example, the initial short *i* is formed by placing two loops side by side and subscribed by the sign of short *u*, as in *iti*, line 24; the letter *k* loses its loop when subscribed by the *mātrā* of short *u* or *r*, or by a conjunct; the signs of *c*, *dh* and *v* are distinct from each other; and the conjunct *ṇṇ* is formed as *ll*.

The language of the record is Sanskrit; and except two stanzas in the beginning, two in the middle and eight in the end, which are all the same as generally found in the Paramāra charters, the record is throughout in prose. As regards orthography, we may note the identity of the signs of *b* and *v*, the use of the *prṣṭha-mātrā* with a very few exceptions, the interchange of the palatal and the dental sibilants, occasionally; sometimes doubling the consonant following *r*; and

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, p. 105.

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lastly, a confusion between the formation of a *daṇḍa* with that of the *prṣṭha-mātrā* or one of the components of the signs of the secondary *i*, almost all the same as to be found in the contemporary inscriptions. The *anusvāra* is throughout employed for the consonant *m*; and it is carved so lightly as to be seen only on the original. Examples of superfluous marks of punctuation are to be seen in lines 25-26 where the names of the donee and his forefathers are engraved. And finally, words like *mahārāya* in line 4, *Viṣaika* and *yāyate* in lines 14 and 47 respectively, and the year in line 32 betray the influence of the local element.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the illustrious king Naravarman, who meditated on the feet of the illustrious Udayāditya, who meditated on the feet of the illustrious Bhojadeva, who, in his turn, had meditated on the feet of the illustrious Sindhurāja. All these kings are mentioned in the record as endowed with the sovereign titles of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Parameśvara*. The purpose of the inscription is to record the perpetual donation of the village Mahudahā, with gardens and suburbs, with all its dues and income arising from oilmills by the subordinate prince, the *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Raṇadhavala, from his own *bhukti*, viz., Madhumatī-700, which was also a *pratijāgaranaka* in the Dakṣiṇāpathaka. The donee was the *Nāyaka*, Tripāṭhī Mādhala(va)śarman, son of Tripāṭhī Vāvana (Vāmana) and a grandson of Tripāṭhī Pavaṇā(nā)ha, and belonging to the Lāḍa community and had hailed from the Mahāsthāna Pañcaura. His *gotra* was Kauṇḍinya, with the three *pravaras*, viz., Kauṇḍinya, Vasiṣṭha and Maitrāvaruṇi, and he was a student of the saṇī (Vājasaneyi) śākhā.

The grant was issued by Raṇadhavala from the Amareśvara tīrtha, after bathing in the confluence of the Revā and the Kapilā, for the spiritual benefit of his parents and himself. It is dated, in lines 16-18, both in words and numerical figures, on the fifteenth *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Pauṣa in the (Vikrama) year 1148, on a solar eclipse. Below, in lines 35-36, there is another date, when the grant was confirmed (or, re-issued ?) by Naravarman. It is Tuesday, the seventh day of Caitra of 1177, expressed both in words and numerical symbols.

The first of these dates regularly corresponds to 24th November, 1090 A.C., when it was Sunday and also a solar eclipse. The year was

the Caitrādi, current, and the month was *amānta*. The equivalents of the second date are as given below :

For the Caitrādi Vikrama, current = Wednesday, 11th March, 1120 A.C.

For the Caitrādi Vikrama, expired = Tuesday, 29th March, 1121 A.C.

For the Kārttikādi Vikrama, expired = Saturday, 22nd March, 1122 A.C.

None of these equivalents shows a Thursday, as mentioned in the record, but taking the first of these equivalents as the nearest, the next day, *i.e.*, 12th March, 1120 A.C., appears to be the really intended day when there was a Thursday and also the ninth day of the fortnight, at mean sunrise, since the ending moment of the *tithi* Aṣṭamī was '71, according to Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*. Here it is also worth noting that for both these dates we have to take the year as the Northern (Caitrādi), *current*, as to be found in extremely few cases.

The officers who executed the royal order (*Dūtakas*) were the *Purohita*, the illustrious Vāmanaśarman and the *Rājaputra* Kumarapāla (Kumārāpāla?). The inscription was composed by the *Akṣapaṭalika* (keeper of records) whose name cannot be made out, in the *bhāṇḍāgāra* (royal treasury), the name of which appears to have been *Jaya* or *Śrījaya*. The announcement of the grant was made in the presence of officers, *viz.*, *Daṇḍanāyaka* (army-leader), *Karaṇa-puruṣa* (writer of documents), *Śayyāpāla* (guardian of bed-chamber), *Udraṅga-variṣṭha* (levy-officer), *Niyukta-puruṣa* (appointment officer), *Asika* (swordsman), *Viṣayika* (head of the village), *etc.*, and the people of the village.

The inscription is composed on the model of the other grants of the Paramāra rulers of Mālava, and it ends with the sign-manual of the king Naravarman, as already stated above. The genealogy mentioned in it is all well known ; but the record presents a number of problems, the first of which concerns the succession of Naravarman. On the evidence of the Amera inscription and the Dewas grant, we have seen that Naravarman ascended the throne in 1093-94 A.C.,¹ but the present charter tends to show that he was actually reigning in 1090 A.C., with the paramount titles of *Mahārājādhirāja*. But from the latter of these records we also know that his father Udayāditya died in 1093 A.C. ; and

1 See *Annual Rep. of Arch. Dept. of Gwalior State*, 1923-24, p. 16 ; and *Proc. of Or. Conf.*, Varanasi (1968), p. 351, respectively.

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the only conclusion that can be drawn from the date given in the present record is that Udayāditya may have abdicated some time about 1090 A.C., of course in favour of his youngest son Jagaddeva, whom he liked most, and the latter offered it to Naravarman, some time before or about 1090 A.C. Whatever may have been the case, the record under study pushes back the accession of Naravarman by about a couple of years than known at present.

The view expressed above, however, appears to be one-sided when we take into account what is stated in lines 33-36 of the present record ; namely, that Raṇadhavala, who had originally made the grant as a subordinate prince, again got it verified in the office of the *Mahākṣapaṭa-lika*, in order that the next king (obviously Naravarman) may know all about it, for its restoration. From this statement it is evident that the grant may have been originally issued by Raṇadhavala, during the reign of Udayāditya ; and thus we can neither place Naravarman's accession earlier than the generally accepted date, nor the abdication by Udayāditya in favour of any of his sons.

Another historical information furnished by the present record is that Naravarman had a feudatory of the name of Raṇadhavala, who governed the southern region of the Paramāra kingdom. This name which is otherwise unknown, may perhaps be recognised in its Prakrit, form Rindhuvula, mentioned in the *Rāsamālā* as a son of Udayāditya¹ and thus a brother of Naravarman, by whom he was appointed as the governor of the region around Rajpur, the find-spot of the inscription. This place lies to the south of the Narmada, and thus it is rightly said to have been then included in the *Dakṣiṇa-pathaka*, in line 12 of the inscription.

The reason why the grant had to be renewed is not stated but can be conjectured. Here we may recall the instance of the Kadambapadraka grant of Vikrama 1167, of the same king, which is referred to above and which also records the confirmation of two other grants made previously, by Naravarman.² One of these was made by the *Mahāmaṇḍalika* Rājadeva in V.S. 1154, and the other by his daughter-in-

1 Eng. Tran. Forbes, Vol. I, p. 117.

2 See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, p. 105.

law (*vadhū*) Mahādevī, probably on the same date. A reference to all these grants in the Kadambapadraka charter, is, as rightly conjectured by R. D. Banerji and N. P. Chakravarti, may have been made with a view to bringing together all the grants of land made to the donee upto the time when that charter was issued,¹ but the case of the present grant is altogether different. And it is possible that the grant made by the feudatory would not be valid unless it is confirmed by his sovereign lord, and that appears to have been done in the present case, under the sign-manual of Naravarman engraved in the end.

The confirmation (or, re-issuing) of the original grant after the long time of twenty-nine years leads us also to presume that it may have fallen into abeyance due to reasons which are not stated or which cannot be made out due to the uncertainty of the reading, and thus we are reduced to a conjecture in this respect also. We know that Naravarman was constantly preoccupied with his enemies on all sides, viz., the Caulukyas on the west, the Cāhamānas in the north, and the Candellas in the north-east of his kingdom; but particularly in the south of his territory, beyond which lay the kingdom of the Western Cālukyas, who were the most inveterate enemies of his house. As is evident from the present epigraph, the region to the south of the Narmada and around Rajour, the find-spot of the plates of the present inscription, was under the Paramāras in V. S. 1148 (1090 A. C.), but the recently published Asvi plates, dated Śaka year 1020 (1098 A.C.),² show that the Yādava king Āirammadeva was at Narmadāpura, where he issued a grant. This place has to be identified with Nemawar (now in the Dewas District), just opposite to it on the north bank of the Narmada. Āirammadeva, the Yāvada king of Seṇadeśa, was a zealous feudatory of the Cālukya king Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya VI (1076-1126 A.C.), whose principality lay in the south; and unless it be presumed that he made an encroachment on some territory lying to

1 *Ibid.*

2 See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. [XXXVI, pp. 249-56. Narmadāpura is also mentioned in the Bhopal grant of the Paramāra Udayavarman, dated Vikrama 1256 [(cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 252 ff.). Cf. also *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India*, Vol. V (1978), p. 66.—Ed.]

RAJPUR COPPER-PLATE OF RAṆADHAVALA

the north of the river, his feudatory could not have issued the grant from that region. This part of land appears to have been subsequently re-conquered by the Paramāras, some time before the date when the present grant was confirmed.

Still another point that attracts our attention here is, as we learn from line 36 of the record, that only half of the whole village which had been donated before was re-donated by Raṇadhavala. We have no means to know the reason for this reduction of the whole village to its half, though it is tentative to suggest that it may have been an assessment due to the introduction of the system of settlement, or due to increase in the annual product of the village between the two dates mentioned in the record.

Most of the geographical names occurring in the inscription can fortunately be identified. Revā is doubtless the Narmada and Kapilā, which is mentioned as its tributary, as in the Sehere grant of Arjunavarman and also in the Mandhata grant of Jayasimha-Jayavarman, dated respectively in Vikrama 1272 and Vikrama 1317,¹ is evidently the small stream known as Kolar, also figuring as Kuvilārā in the Dewas grant referred to above. Pūrṇa-pathaka appears to have then denoted the territory around the modern town of Punasa, situated about 30 kms. south-east of the temple of Amareśvara at Mandhata. Mahudahā, the gift-village, is obviously the modern Mohadia, lying about 40 kms. north by east of Rajpur, the find-spot of the plates, which itself is about 50 kms. due west-north-west of Khargone. The village is about 20 kms. south-west of the adjoining *tehsil* of Kasravād and about 6 kms. south of the Narmada. Madhumatī, mentioned as the *bhukti* of the donor and also as a *pratijāgaraṇaka*, may probably be identified with Mahapura, situated about 20 kms. north by west of Rajpur and on the southern bank of the Narmada. The place is mentioned by this name, *i.e.* *Madhumatī-Nagara*, in an inscription of the 13th century found there and recording the construction of a Śiva temple there,* with a mound in its vicinity, which vouchsafes its antiquity.

2 See *Journ. American Or. Soc.*, Vol. VII, p. 24 ; and *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 139, respectively. In the latter of these records the river is mentioned by the other name Kāveri.

2 Information from V. S. Wakankar of Ujjain.

ĀCĀRYA-VANDANĀ : D. R. BHANDARKAR BIRTH CENTENARY VOLUME

TEXT¹

[Metres : Verses 1-2, 4-5, 9-10 *Anuṣṭubh* ; Verses 3, 7 *Vasantatilakā* ; Verses 6, 11 *Indravajrā* ; Verse 8 *Śālinī* ; Verse 12 *Puṣpītāgrā*].

First Plate

- 1 Siddham²// Svasti jay=obhyudayaś=ca/ Jayati Vyomakeśo=sau yaḥ sa[rgga]ya vi(bi)bha-
- 2 rtti tān(m)/ aiṁdaviṁ si,śi)rasā lekham jagad-vi(bi)j-aṁkur-ākṛtim/[1//*] Tanvaṁtu va(vaḥ) sāsaneḥ³ kalyāṇam=a-
- 3 nisam(śam) jaṭāḥ / kalpānta-samay-oddāma-taḍid-valaya-piṁglāḥ/[2//*] Śrī-mahā-
[rā]yāḥ⁴ saga(ma)-
- 4 sta-rājāvali-māl-ālaṁkṛta-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramesva (śva)ra-
- 5 śrī-Sindhurājadeva-pādānū(nu)dhyāta-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramesva
(śva)-
- 6 ra-Srī-Bhojadeva-pādānudhyāta-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramesva(śva)ra-
- 7 Śrī-Udayādityadeva-pādānū(nu)dhyāta-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramesva-
(śva)⁵-
- 8 ra-śrīman-Naravarmmadevaḥ kuśali/ Tat-pāda-padma-prasād-āvāpta-Pūrṇa-patha-
kasya ca-
- 9 tvāriṁśa-sahasr-ādhipatyaṁ⁶ samasta-prarā(śa)st-opeta-samadhigata-paiṁcamahā-
śav(b)dālaṁ-
- 10 kāra- virājamāna- mahāmāṁdalesva(śva)ra-śrī- Raṇadhavaladevaḥ Pūrṇa-pathak-
āntaḥ-pāti-
- 11 Paṇṇī(lī)-ārdha-śatatraya-pratīva(ba)ddha-pāścimāyāṁ Madhumatī-āpta-sa(śa)
ta-bhogi asmi-
- 12 nn=eva pratijāgarāṇake Dakṣiṇa-pathake sva-bhuktau Mahudahā-grāma aṁtas=
tathā grā⁷-
- 13 māṇām samasta-laiṁdanāyakādhi(dhī)ṣṭh-āsika- karaṇapuru[śa]-śayyāpāl-odraṁga-
variṣṭa(ṭha)ka-(pra)⁸-

1 From the original plates.

2 Expressed by symbol.

3 Read *Smarārāteḥ*, as in the other charters of the house. The first of these *akṣaras* is omitted ; the form of the second and the third is changed by a redundant horizontal stroke in each ; and the consonant of the fourth is engraved as *n*.

4 Read *Mahārāja*—.

5 *Sandhi* between the first two *akṣaras* in this line, as also in some other instances below, is not observed. They are not noted separately.

6 A word like *bibhrāṇaḥ* has to be supplied here.

7 These two letters should probably be read as *ante* and corrected to *antikasthān* (in the vicinity).

8 All these letters are misformed.

RAJPUR COPPER-PLATE OF RANADEVALA

- 14 bhṛti-samasta-niryu(yu)kta-puruṣa-[vrā(bhā)hmaṇo]ttarān¹ pratinivāsi-viṣāi(yi)ka-
paṭṭakila-

Second Plate : First Side

- 15 janapad-ādīn samādiṣaty=astu va[ḥ]² samviditaṁ (/) yathā asmābhiḥ śrī-Amāresva
(śva)ra-ti-
16 rtha-sthitaiḥ śrī-Vikrama-kāl-ā[da*]ṣṭacatvāriṁsati(śaty-) adhikaikādaśa-sa(śa)ta-
samvatsa(r-ā)nta[rggata]-
17 Pauṣa-vadī pañcadasyām (śyām) samvatū(t) 1148 Pauṣa-vadī 15 samjāta-sūrya-
grahaṇa parvvaṇi parvva-
18 kālam=āśritya śrīmad-Revā-Kapilā-nadyoḥ saṁgama[ne ?]³ sāyam snātvā dhautā-
vāsasī pari-
19 dhāya jagataḥ patiṁ Umāpatiṁ⁴ saṁpūjya til āhutīr=jātavedasi hutvā pañca-
śānti(tī)]r=abhi-⁵
20 dhāya pūrṇ-āhutiṁ hutvā kapilām gām triḥ-pradakṣiṇīkṛtya saṁpūjya ca saṁsārasy
=āsaratām pa-
21 ri[iñāya] tathā hi / Vāt-ābhra-vibhramam=idam vasudh-ādhipatyam=āpātamātra-
madhuro viṣay-o-
22 pabhogaḥ/ prāṇās=tṛṇ-āgra-jala-vimdu-samā narāṇām dharmmaḥ sakḥā param=aho
para-loka-
23 mānai (yāne)/[3/*] Api ca / Bhramat-saṁsāra-cakr-āgra-dhār-ādharām=imām
śrīyam(yam)/ prāpya ye na dadu [s*] teṣām pa-
24 ścāttāpaḥ⁶ [pa*]raṁ phalaṁ(lam)/[4/*] iti jagato vinas(śva)ra-svarūpam=ākalayy
=ādṛṣṭa-phalam=aṁgikṛtya caṁ-
25 dr-ārkk-ārṇava-kṣiti-samakālam⁷ / yāvat parayā bhaktyā Lāḍ-ānvaye Pañcaūra-
māhā-sthāna-
26 vinirggata- Kauninya- gotrāya⁸ / Kauninya- Vasiṣṭha- Maitrāvaruṇa(ṇa)-triḥprava-
rāya⁹ / Saṇi śā-

- 1 The letters in the brackets have left only traces, and the *ita* after *no* is lost in the hole. The use of the initial *i* in *Viṣaika* that follows is noteworthy.
- 2 The sign for *visarga*, which can be seen only on the original, was inserted later on.
- 3 The bracketed *akṣara* is formed as *yam*.
- 4 Read *patīm=Umā*—.
- 5 The reading of the bracketed letters is doubtful, but it appears as given here. Probably what is intended is *śāntis*. The five *śāntis* are : to propitiate the *grahas*, *pitṛs*, *bhūtas*, *devas* and *Brāhmaṇas*, for averting evils and pacifying the deities.
- 6 Read *itāpaḥ*. The following *pa* is engraved above the line.
- 7 The *daṇḍas* in this and the following lines are redundant.
- 8 Read *Kaunḍīnya*.
- 9 The *daṇḍa* is engraved as a *prṣṭha-mātrā* of the following letter. The *jākhā*

ĀCĀRYA-VANDANĀ : D. R. BHANDARKAR BIRTH CENTENARY VOLUME

- 27 kh-ādhyāya(yi)ne tripāṭi(ṭhi)/Pavaṇā(nā)ha pautrāya tripāṭi(ṭhi)/ Vāvana-putrāya¹
nāyaka-Mādhala(va ?)-
28 devasa(śa)rmmaṇe vrā(brā)hmaṇāya upari-likhita-Mahudahā-[grā]ma antarastathā(?)
grāmayoh² sa-
29 vṛkṣa-māl-ākulaś = catuḥ(tuṣ)-kaṁkaṭa-viśuddhaḥ khany-ākara-nidhi-nikṣepa sahitaḥ
ārāma-[vā]-

Second Plate : Second Side

- 30 ṭik-āmalaka-[ghāṇa]ka-tal-ādy-ādi³ -sarvv-ādāyair = upetaś = caraṇau prakṣā-
31 lya mātā-pitrōr = ātmanaś = ca puṇya-yaso(śo)-⁴ [bhivṛddha]ye⁵ / sā(śā)sanāṁ kṛtv-
odaka-pūrvva-
32 katvena pradattaḥ/ Sataha[ṭta]rity⁶ -adhikal-kādaśa-śata-saṁvatsar-āntarggat-Cai-
tra śu-
33 di navamyāṁ mahākṣapaṭala-ākutv-ārya(?) -śrī-jaye bhāṇḍāgāre niva ba)ddham
(ddham)/Punar = may-ākṣa-
34 paṭala-[śā]sanāṁ kārayitvā āgāmi-bhadra-nṛpati⁷ -pari[jñā]tiya-mahārājādhira-
35 ja-śrī-Naravarmmadeva-pādānāṁ vijñyāpya suniścita(tya) tad = ādeśāt grām[ā*]-
36 rddho dattaḥ/.....⁸ bhāga-bhoga-ādi-kara-hiraṇy-ādi-jam deva-vrā(brā)hmaṇa-bhu-
37 kti-varjam = ājñā-śravaṇa-vi[dheyair] = bhūtvā bhavadbhir = amuṣmai tath = aitadiya-
putra-
38 pautra-ādi-saṁtānāya sa[rvva]dā samupanetavyaṁ(m)/ Sāmānyaṁ c = aitat-puṇya-
phalaṁ vu(bu)dhvā's-
39 smad-vaṁsa(śa)jair = anyar = api bhāvi-bhoktṛbhir = asmat-pradatta-dharmmā(rmma)-
dāy-oya[m - a] numāntavyo(vyaḥ)
40 pālaniyaś = ca// Uktāṁ [ca = itat]/ Va(ba)hubhir = vasudhā bhuktā rājabhiḥ
Sagar-ādibhiḥ/
41 yasya yasya yadā bhūmis = tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ(m)/[5//*] yān = iha dattāni
purā narendrair = ddā-
42 nāni dharm-ārtha-yaśas-karāṇi/nirmālya-vānti-pratimāni tāni ko nāma sā-
43 dhuḥ punar = ādadita//6//⁹ Asmat-kula-kramam = udāra = udāharadbhir¹⁰ = anyaiś =

mentioned here is probably a short form of Vājasaneyi.

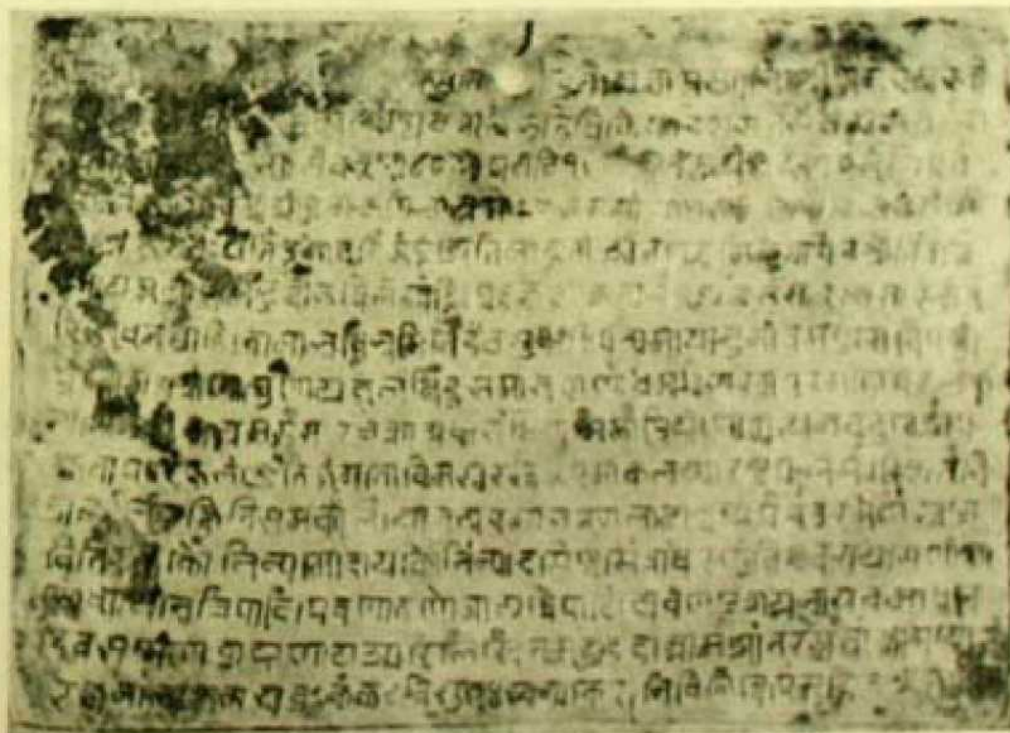
- 1 The correct form of the first of the names is Pavanāha, and of the second, Vāmana.
The consonant of the first *akṣara* of the second name may also be read as c.
- 2 Probably what is intended is *antikasthayoh grāmayoh*.
- 3 Both the bracketed letters are incised only in parts. *Ādya* and *ādi* which are used
here are mere repetitions.
- 4 The three *akṣaras* in the brackets show uncouth forms.
- 5 That is, seventy-seven, mentioned here in Prakrit.
- 6 Possibly Naravarman is intended here.
- 7 The traces show that here we have to read *tat = tatṛ = otpadyamāna*.
- 8 The *akṣaras* in the brackets is written above the line, in a smaller form.

ĀCĀRYA-VANDANĀ : D. R. BHANDARKAR BIRTH CENTENARY VOLUME

Rajpur Copper plate Charter of the Paramāra Raṇadhavala



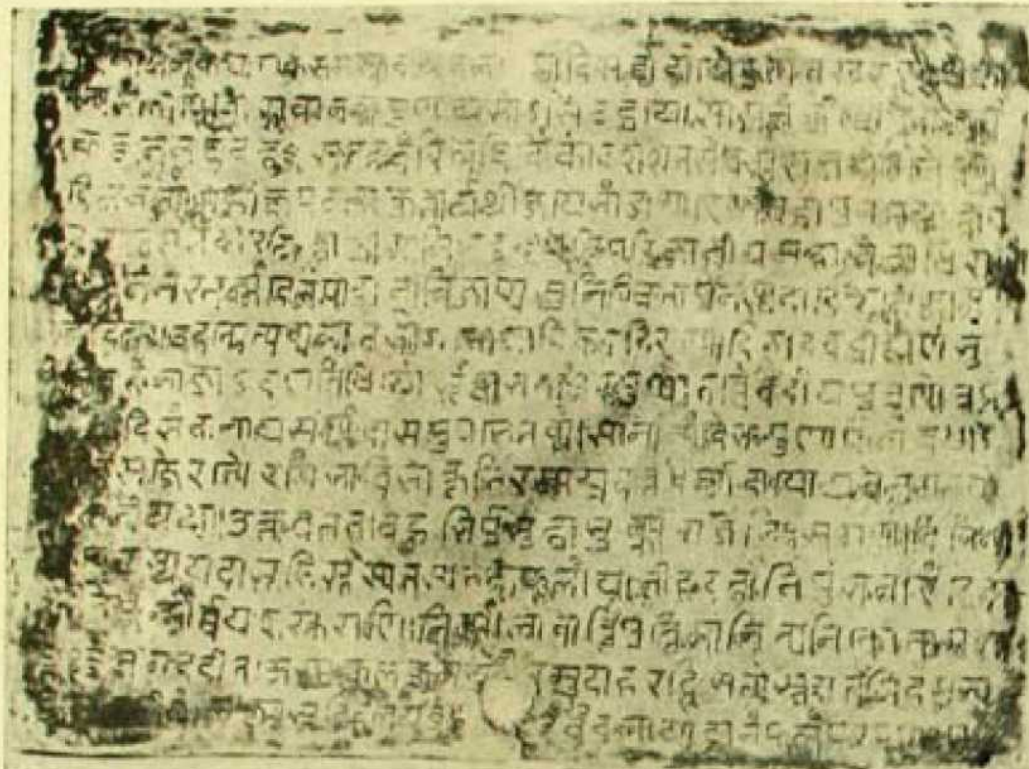
First Plate



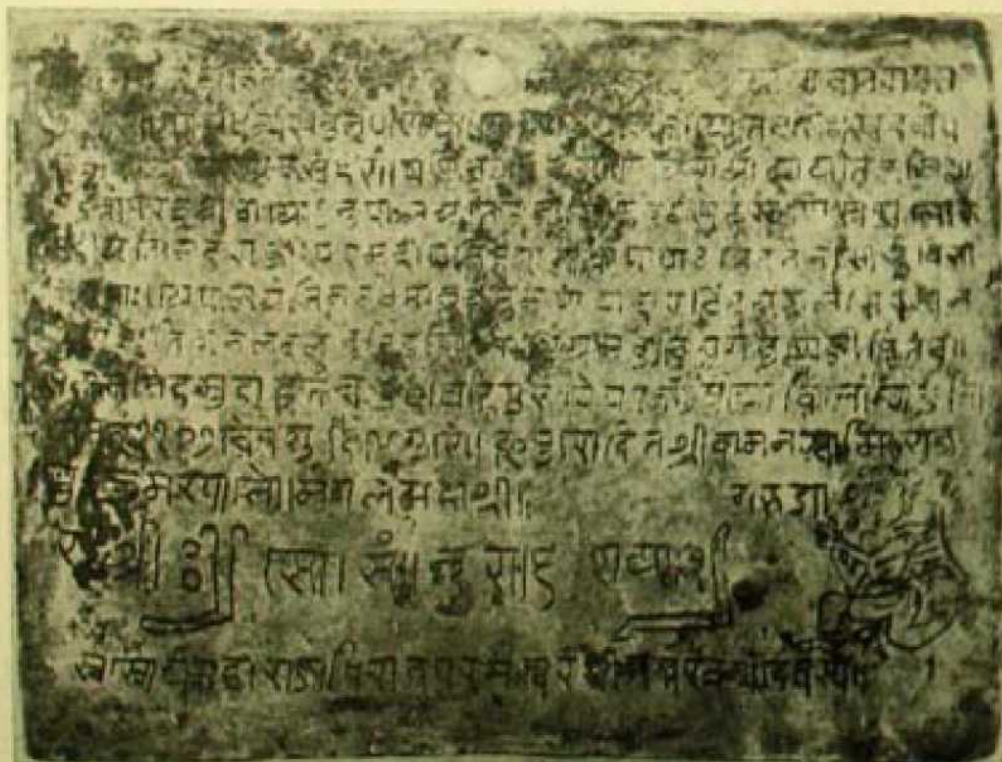
Second Plate : First Side

ĀCĀRYA-VANDANĀ : D. R. BHANDARKAR BIRTH CENTENARY VOLUME

Rajpur Copper-plate Charter of the Paramāra Raṇadhavala



Second Plate : Second Side



Third Plate

RAJPUR COPPER-PLATE OF RAṆADHAVALA

ca dānam=idam=abhya-

- 44 numodaniyaṁ(m)/lakṣmyās=taḍit-salila-vudvu(budbu)da-caṁcalāyāḥ dānaṁ phalaṁ para-yaśaḥ-pari-

Third Plate

- 45 pālanam ca //7//* Sarvvān=etān=bhāvinah pārthiveṁdrām¹ bhūyo bhūyo yācate Rāmabha-
46 draḥ/sāmānyo=yaṁ dharmma-setur=nrpāṇām kālē kālē pālaniyo bhavadbhiḥ //8//* Sva-dattām pa-
47 ra-dattām vā yo'nupālayate mahīm(m)/ṣaṣṭi-varṣa-sahasrāṇi viṣṭhāyām yā jāyate kṛmiḥ//9//
48 Svadattām para-dattām vā yo='nupālayate mahīm(him)/ṣaṣṭi varṣa-sahasrāṇi sve(sva)rgga-loke
49 mahīyate//10//* Mad-vaimrā(śa)jāḥ para-mahīpati-vaiśajā vā pāpād=apeta-manaso bhuvi bhā-
50 ki(vi) [bhū]pāḥ/ ye pālayanti mama dha[r*]mmam=aham nu mepām(teṣām) pād-āravinda-yugalaṁ si (śi)rasā na-
51 māmī//11// Iti kamala-dalām(vu)-viṁ(bin)du-lolām śriyam=anucintya manuṣya-jīvitam ca//12//
52 sakalan(m)idam=udāhṛtaṁ ca vu(bu)dhvā va(na) hi purupaiḥ(ṣaiḥ) para-ki [rttayo] vilopyāḥ iti/*
53 Saṁyat 1177 Caltra-śudi 9 Gurau/Dū 0* purohita-śrī-Vāmanasvāmi//rāja-
54 putra-Kumarapālau//* Maṁgalaṁ mahā-śrī [h*]//
55 Ra Śrīḥ-Saṁ// [Nr] Rā//6 Śa-Śrī*
56 Sva-[ha]sto=yaṁ mahārājādhirāja-paramesva(śva)ra-śrīman-Naravarṁmadevasya//

1 Read—*drān*.

2 Read *vilopyāḥ* //12// *iti*.

3 This is a contraction of *Dātaka*. The consonant of *hi* that follows is engraved as *d*.

4 Delete the *daṇḍa*, marked here as *rā*, and read both the names as one word.

5 This line, which is in bigger letters, is not fully intelligible. The first *akṣara* probably stands for *racitam*; the *daṇḍas* following the second are ornamentally treated, and there are also gaps between them all. The same device we find in Arjunavarman's grants. The last two *daṇḍas* are joined at their lowest extremity, by what resembles a hoof.

6 The syllable in the brackets, which was originally omitted, is incised above the first of these letters, as shown by the traces thereof, and it is also rubbed in the process of cleaning the plates.

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ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

Page xix, line 5*. *Read*—361-64

„ 3. *Read* only—

ACADEMIC CAREER AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Page 6, line 1. *Read*—ĀCĀRYA-VANDANĀ

„ 7, „ 18. *Read*—Vināyakapāla' and

„ 8, „ 1. *Read*—ĀCĀRYA-VANDANĀ

„ 10, „ 1. *Read*— „

„ 12, „ 1. *Read*— „

„ 14, „ 1. *Read*— „

„ 14, „ 3. *Read*—foreign elements in the Hindu population

„ 15, „ 15. *Read*—following

„ 16, „ 1. *Read*—ĀCĀRYA-VANDANĀ

„ 18, „ 1. *Read*— „

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„ 25, line 3. *Read*—utopian' rolled into one.

„ 25, footnote lines 2 and 4. *Read*—'Bibliography of Published Writings'

„ 26, line 1. *Read*—ĀCĀRYA-VANDANĀ

„ 26, footnote line 1. *Read*—'Bibliography of Published Writings'

„ 28, line 1. *Read*—ĀCĀRYA-VANDANĀ

„ 29, „ 6. *Read*—the Archaeological Department**

and the Carmichael

„ 29, „ 7. *Read*—Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture

„ 29, „ 15. *Read*—'A List of the Inscriptions of

Northern India in Brāhmī and its

„ 30, „ 1. *Read*—ĀCĀRYA-VANDANĀ

„ 30, lines 16-17. *Read*—'Aryan Colonisation of Southern

India and Ceylon'

„ 31, line 18. *Read*—Vikramāditya flourished.'

* Counting from the page-heading line

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

Page 31, footnote lines 2-3. *Read*—'Bibliography of Published Writings'

„ 32, line 1. *Read*—ĀCĀRYA-VANDANĀ

„ 34, „ 1. *Read*— „

„ 36, „ 1. *Read*— „

„ 38, „ 1. *Read*— „

„ 39, „ 3. *Read*—Indian epigraphy*

„ 40, „ 1. *Read*—ĀCĀRYA-VANDANĀ

„ 46, „ 1. *Read*— „

„ 48, „ 1. *Read*— „

„ 50, „ 1. *Read*— „

„ 52, „ 1. *Read*— „

„ 52, footnote line 5. *Read*—2nd Ed., University of Calcutta

„ 57, line 25. *Read*—Khadavada

„ 58, „ 1. *Read*—ĀCĀRYA-VANDANĀ

„ 60, „ 1. *Read*— „

„ 62, „ 1. *Read*— „

„ 63, lines 4-5. *Read*—Archaeological Survey of India

„ 64, line 1. *Read*—ĀCĀRYA-VANDANĀ

„ 65, „ 24. *Read*—Senate Hall

„ 66, „ 1. *Read*—ĀCĀRYA-VANDANĀ

„ 68, „ 1. *Read*— „

„ 70, „ 1. *Read*— „

„ 72, „ 1. *Read*— „

„ 75, „ 8. *Read*—Prof.

„ 76, „ 1. *Read*—ĀCĀRYA-VANDANĀ

„ 78, „ 1. *Read*— „

„ 80, „ 1. *Read*— „

„ 86, „ 1. *Read*— „

„ 88, „ 1. *Read*— „

„ 88, „ 3. *Read*—September 18, 1976.

„ 91, „ 25. *Read*—Manindra Chandra Nandy

„ 92, „ 3. Add—1. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* (with C. R. Devadhar), Vols. VII (1926)—VIII (1927); (with A. B. Gajendragadkar), Vols. IX (1928)—XV (Parts I-II, 1934).

„ 92, lines 3-26. *Read*—the Serial Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 as Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 respectively.

- Page 94, line 1. Read—ĀCĀRYA-VANDANĀ**
- „ 96, „ 1. *Read—* „
- „ 98, „ 1. *Read—* „
- „ 98, lines 7-8. *Read—*‘Epigraphic Notes and Questions’
- „ 100, line 1. *Read—ĀCĀRYA-VANDANĀ*
- „ 100, lines 6-8. *Add—*31. ‘The work done by the Society towards the Elucidation of Indian History by the study of Inscriptions’, *Journ. Bomb. Bra. Roy. As. Soc.*, 1905 (extra number, Centenary Memorial Volume), pp. 33-44.
- „ 100, lines 7-19. *Read—the* Serial Nos. 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, as 32, 33, 34, 35, 36 respectively.
- „ 102, line 1. *Read—ĀCĀRYA-VANDANĀ*
- „ 104, „ 1. *Read—* „
- „ 104, „ 21. *Read—in the* Hall of the
- „ 104, footnote line 1. *Read—topic*
- „ 104, footnote line 4. *Read—Manindra Chandra Nandy Lectures*
- „ 105, line 26. *Read—Ind Cult.*, Vol. XV
- „ 106, „ 1. *Read—ĀCĀRYA-VANDANĀ*
- „ 107, „ 28. *Read—Kesav Appa Padhye, ibid.*, Vol. XII, No. 3
- „ 107, „ 30. *Read—L. SOCIAL HISTORY*
- „ 108, „ 1. *Read—ĀCĀRYA-VANDANĀ*
- „ 112, „ 1. *Read—* „
- „ 114, „ 1. *Read—* „
- „ 114, „ 21. *Read—Ujjain, etc.*
- „ 116, „ 1. *Read—ĀCĀRYA-VANDANĀ*
- „ 121, „ 1. *Read—INAUGURAL ADDRESS*
- „ 124, „ 1. *Read—ĀCĀRYA-VANDANĀ*
- „ 126, „ 1. *Read—* „
- „ 128, „ 1. *Read—* „
- „ 130, „ 1. *Read—* „
- „ 131, „ 24. *Read—loka-rakṣārtham*
- „ 132, „ 1. *Read—ĀCĀRYA-VANDANĀ*
- „ 132, „ 22. *Read—O king, he is king.*
- „ 132, footnote line 6. *Read—1st Ed.*, Poona, 1946, p. 49.
- „ 133, line 10. *Read—(lok-ārtha-siddhaye)*
- „ 134, „ 1. *Read—ĀCĀRYA-VANDANĀ*

- Page 135, line 25. *Read*—stipulations
- „ 136, „ 1. *Read*—ĀCĀRYA-VANDANĀ
- „ 136, „ 17. *Read*—lok-ādhipati
- „ 137, footnote line 3. *Read*—6th Ed., 1953, pp. 372-73.
- „ 138, line 1. *Read*—ĀCĀRYA-VANDANĀ
- „ 140, „ 1. *Read*—
- „ 142, „ 1. *Read*—
- „ 144, „ 1. *Read*—
- „ 144, „ 24. *Read*—Kalyana-Varada Perumal Temple
- „ 144, footnote line 12. *Read*—p. 134, note 63
- „ 145, lines 5 and 14-15. *Read*—Arulala-Perumal Temple
- „ 145, line 25. *Read*—Punyakotisvara Temple
- „ 146, „ 1. *Read*—ĀCĀRYA-VANDANĀ
- „ 146, footnote line 6. *Read*—Chattopadhyay
- „ 148, line 1. *Read*—ĀCĀRYA-VANDANĀ
- „ 148, lines 20-21. *Read*—Anuradhapura
- „ 150, line 1. *Read*—ĀCĀRYA-VANDANĀ
- „ 151, „ 8. *Read*—*Khurāsāni Dirhems*
- „ 152, „ 1. *Read*—ĀCĀRYA-VANDANĀ
- „ 153, „ 8. *Read*—Qutbu-d-dīn's
- „ 153, „ 21. *Read*—Sultāns
- „ 153, footnote line 8. *Read*—p. 38). For
- „ 154, line 1. *Read*—ĀCĀRYA-VANDANĀ
- „ 154, lines 10 and 16. *Read*—Sultāns
- „ 155, line 11. *Better read*—as 2·4 grains, the fifty pieces would contain 120 grains of silver, and
- „ 155, footnote line 1. *Read*—Qutbu-d-dīn Aibak'.
- „ 156, line 1. *Read*—ĀCĀRYA-VANDANĀ
- „ 156, „ 11. *Read*—*Lāri*
- „ 158, „ 1. *Read*—ĀCĀRYA-VANDANĀ
- „ 160, „ 1. *Read*—
- „ 161, „ 1. *Read*—UPANISADS
- „ 161, footnote line 1. *Read*—*Ideen Zu einer Philosophie der Natur*
- „ 162, line 1. *Read*—ĀCĀRYA-VANDANĀ
- „ 171, „ 34. *Read*—Śabarotsava
- „ 172, footnote line 10. *Read*—M. R. Kale's edition (1928) of the work.

Page 172, footnote line 12. *Read*—Calcutta, 1955, pp. 504-05, 507.

- „ 173, line 2. *Read*—*Kathāsaritsāgara*
- „ 176, „ 23. *Read*—*rūpaṃ*
- „ 178, „ 24. *Read*—*sappaṭigha-rūpaṃ*
- „ 178, footnote line 1. *Read*—*ajjhatika-rūpaṃ*
- „ 178, „ „ 7. *Read*—*santike-rūpaṃ*
- „ 180, line 18. *Read*—should
- „ 189, „ 1. *Read*—AFFECTION-MOTIVE IN ANIMAL SACRIFICE
- „ 189, footnote line 5. *Read*—*bhrātā*
- „ 189, „ „ 6. *Read*—*evai*
- „ 191, line 17. *Read*—*Ūṣā*
- „ 192, footnote line 3. *Read*—2nd Ed.
- „ 196, lines 10, 23 and 24. *Read*—*bhṛty-opāya*
- „ 196, line 13. Better *read*—*bāndhavān*
- „ 197, „ 13. *Read*—*Saugat-āśrama*
- „ 197, „ 20. Better *read*—*preṣitavyā*
- „ 198, footnote line 2. *Read*—(*Bul. Eco. Fran. Ext. Or.*, Vol. III, p. 17.)
- „ 199, line 7. *Read*—*vi[ṇṣa]ti vṛher = eko bhṛtyaḥ paṭadvayam*
- „ 199, „ 8. *Read*—*śrī-Raṇḍāparvate-śvare*
- „ 202, „ 5. *Read*—*K. J. Śivaliṅga*
- „ 204, footnote line 1-2. *Read*—*dharmo vyavasthitah*
- „ 205, lines 14 and 16. *Read*—Semitic or Semetic [Neither of the two forms of spelling is free from controversy in respect of etymological sense. According to Hebrew version of the *Old Testament* (Genesis V. 32 and X. 1), the correct spelling would be 'Shemitic' or 'Shemetic', since it yields some sensible meaning.]
- „ 206, line 18. Better *read*—in 525 B. C.
- „ 207, „ 6. *Read*—the Aramaic language and the period
- „ 210, „ 30. *Read*—THE ARAMAIC SCRIPT AND KHAROSTHĪ
- „ 212, „ 1. *Read*—ĀCĀRYA-VANDANĀ
- „ 212, „ 10. *Read*—In fact, excepting 'A', there is no
- „ 214, „ 30. *Read*—the scholars
- „ 214, „ 36. *Read*—R. Ghirshmann
- „ 216, „ 30. *Read*—with certainty.
- „ 217, „ 23. *Read*—the Goddess Brazmani Artā,

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

- Page 217, line 30. Read—'... *Vashna*
- „ 217, „ 34. Read—*Artā Cā Brazmaniy...*
- „ 218, „ 6. Read—'... he sent letters unto all
- „ 218, footnote line 2. Read—*Holy Scriptures* (New World Bible Translation Committee), New York, 1961, p 581.
- „ 222, line 22. Read—headquarters
- „ 222, „ 33. Read—governors, satraps, nobles,
- „ 223, „ 15. Read—Ghirshmann
- „ 224, „ 4. Read—Pasargadae
- „ 226, „ 11. Read—speaks
- „ 229, „ 19. Read—god Hayaśirša
- „ 234, footnote line 4. Read—(Nebenton)
- „ 242, „ „ 8. Read—*prāṇa*
- „ 244, „ „ 4. Read—sixty-one
- „ 245, „ „ 5. Read—forty-seven
- „ 251, line 12. Read—acknowledged
- „ 251, footnote line 4. Read—*le mien*
- „ 251, „ „ 4. Read—*développement*
- „ 251, „ „ 13. Read—*l'enveloppe....*
- „ 255, „ „ 3. Read—*on fit*
- „ 256, „ „ 10. Read—*Festschrift*
- „ 260, footnote lines 2-3. Read—Vols. 115-1⁶, 1973-76.
- „ 266, line 8. Read—*svādhiṣṭhāna*
- „ 266, „ 8. Read—between *ba*
- „ 266, „ 9. Read—and *la*
- „ 266, „ 9. Read—*va*
- „ 267, „ 15. Read—*viśuddhi-cakra*
- „ 268, „ 8. Read—Brahman
- „ 268, „ 19. Read—*virabhāva*
- „ 269, „ 3. Read—*Devī*
- „ 269, „ 6. Read—'residing in *śukla*' (*śukla-samsthita*) and
- „ 269, „ 11. Read—*śyāmā*
- „ 272, footnote line 3. Read—*Kāñci*
- „ 281, „ „ 8. Read—d'après une
- „ 288, line 6. Read—Kanchipuram Taluk
- „ 295, „ 32. Read—Arantangi Taluk or in the Mayuram Taluk

- Page 296, line 14. *Read*—Brāhmaṇas
- „ 298, footnote line 3. *Read*—*Śaḍdarśanasamuccaye*
- „ 299, line 1. *Read*—GUNARATNA
- „ 300, „ 2. *Read*—Navya-nyāya techniques
- „ 308, „ 18 and p. 309, line 8. *Read*—Sri Lanka
- „ 309, lines 4 and 9. *Read*—Śrī-Laṅkā
- „ 313, line 2. *Read*—*tata pi*
- „ 323, „ 15. *Read*—*ṣaḍ-guṇaḥ*
- „ 324, „ 3. *Read*—*mānuṣam*
- „ 332, footnote line 1. *Read*—*Op. cit.*, Introduction, pp. xxviii-xxix
- „ 337, line 14. *Read*—expressly
- „ 341, „ 1. *Read*—RĀJARĀJA I AND JAṬĀCODA BHĪMA
- „ 343, „ 1. *Read*—RĀJARĀJA I AND JAṬĀCODA BHĪMA
- „ 343, „ 14. *Read*—*ka-nṛpa-nava-śata-saṁkhyā-vi....*
- „ 346, footnote line 3. *Read*—Vidyānātha, *op. cit.*, I, Verse 22.
- „ 346, line 20. *Read*—Coḷa
- „ 346, footnote line 7. *Read*—'Coḷa'
- „ 358, line 33. *Read*—Kannaḍa-speaking
- „ 359, „ 8. *Read*—Balharā
- „ 362, „ 17. *Read*—Mahant
- „ 383, „ 18. *Read*—Indian *stūpa* and Burmese *sihalesa*
- „ 383, „ 31. *Read*—Wat Aram
- „ 384, „ 15. *Read*—17th century, is adorned
- „ 385, footnote line 3. *Read*—*Buddhism and Spirit Cults in North-East Thailand*,
p. 252.
- „ 387, „ „ 1. *Read*—seen below, have also
- „ 403, line 15. *Read*—Altekar, A. S. 155, 155n, 188n, 293n, 327-
- „ 420, „ 41. *Read*—279, 279n, 280, 282-83
- „ 427, „ 38. *Read*—*Marīci-pattana* 340